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THE

LIFE

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PONTIFICATE

OF

LEO THE TENTH.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

BY WILLIAM ROSCOE.

THE SECOND EDITION, CORRECTED.

VOL. IV.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY J. M'CREERY,

FOR T. CADELL AND W. DAVIES, STRAND.

1806.

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Neque enim ignorabam, non unius diei, fortuitique sermonis, sed plurimorum mensium, exactæque historiæ munus fore.

Brandolini, Dialog. cui tit. Leo, p. 95.

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CHAP. XIX.

1519—1521.

PROGRESS of the Reformation—Leo X. endeavours to conciliate Luther—Conferences between Luther and Miltitz—Public disputation at Leipsic—Luther is prevailed upon to write to the pope—Sarcastic tenor of his letter—His doctrines condemned at Rome—Purport of the papal bull—Its reception at Wittemberg—Luther publicly burns the bull with the decretals of the church—He endeavours to obtain the favour of the emperor—Aleandro papal legate to the imperial court—Harangues the diet of the empire against Luther—Luther cited to appear before the diet—His journey to Worms—His first appearance before the assembly—His second appearance—He refuses to retract his writings—Observations on his conduct—The emperor declares his opinion—Further efforts to prevail upon Luther to retract—Condemned by an imperial edict—Is privately conveyed to the castle of Wartburg—Henry VIII. writes against Luther—Reformation of Switzerland by Zuinglius—Conduct and character of Luther—His bold assertion of the right of private judgment—His inflexible adherence to his own opinion—Uncharitable spirit of the first reformers—Effects of the Reformation on literary studies—On the fine arts—On the political and moral state of Europe.

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THE death of the emperor Maximilian, and the negotiations and intrigues occasioned by the election of his successor Charles V. had for a time withdrawn the attention of the court of Rome from the proceedings of Luther. Of this opportunity, he and his followers had availed themselves to spread his opinions, both by preaching and writing, through various parts of Germany. The effect of these exertions was most visible in Saxony, where, during the vacancy of the imperial throne, the vicarial authority had devolved on the elector Frederick; who, if he did not openly espouse the cause of the reformation, at least raised no ob-

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Progress of the reformation.

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structions to its progress. Under his protection the new opinions gained considerable strength; and as his reputation for integrity, talents, and personal worth, was equal to that of any sovereign of his time, the partiality which he manifested to Luther greatly contributed to the success of the efforts of that daring innovator.*(a)*

Leo endeavours to pacify Luther.

No sooner had the political ferment subsided, than Leo again turned his attention to the progress of Luther, which from its rapidity and extent now began to excite a real alarm at Rome. The new decretal which Leo had issued in confirmation of indulgences, had answered no other purpose than to impel Luther to a more direct opposition. To whatever height the pontifical authority erected its crest, Luther opposed himself to it with equal confidence, and Leo at length resolved to try the effect of conciliatory measures. In this it is probable that he followed the dictates of his own temper and judgment, which were naturally inclined to lenity and forbearance; and it

(a) "Procedebat feliciter Evangelium sub umbra istius "principis, et late propagabatur. Movebat ejus autoritas "plurimos, qui cum esset sapientissimus et oculatissimus "princeps, not poterat, nisi apud invidos, suspicionem in- "currere quod hæresin aut hæreticos vellet alere et tueri." *Luther. in præf. ad. op.*

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it is certain that the measure which he adopted was warmly reprobated by many of the firm and orthodox adherents of the church. The person selected by the pontiff for this purpose was Charles Miltitz, a Saxon nobleman, who had served him for some years in a military capacity, and had been afterwards nominated to the office of counsellor and apostolic chamberlain. To this choice Leo was perhaps, in some degree, led by the consideration that the elector Frederick was supposed to have long wished for the honour of the consecrated rose, which is annually given by the pontiff to some distinguished personage; and he therefore thought that, by transmitting this mark of his esteem by the hands of Miltitz, he should, at the same time, conciliate the favour of the elector, and find an opportunity of treating with Luther, without humiliating himself by the appearance of sending an express messenger for that purpose. To this it may be added, that Miltitz had already acted the part of a mediator with the pope on behalf of Luther, to obtain a hearing of his cause in Germany; which office he had been solicited to undertake by a letter from the university of Wittemberg.(a) Nor is it improbable that Leo preferred

(a) Appendix, No. CLXXIX.

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preferred a secular to an ecclesiastical envoy, in the hope of avoiding those speculative disputations which had hitherto only tended to widen the breach which he wished to close.

The reception of Miltitz at the electoral court gave but an ill omen of his success. Neither the letters of the pontiff, nor the recommendations which Miltitz had brought to Degenhart Pfeffinger and George Spalatino, two of the principal officers of the court, could remove the unfavourable impressions which had preceded his arrival.*(a)* Instead of receiving with satisfaction and respect the high mark of pontifical favour of which Miltitz was the bearer, the elector desired it might be consigned to an officer of his court, who would convey it to him without the formality of a public interview ;*(b)* and to the remonstrances of

(a) Appendix, No. CLXXX.

(b) This rose the pontiff describes in his letter to the elector as "——Sacratissimam auream Rosam, quarta domi- "nica Sanctæ Quadragesimæ a nobis chrismate sancto deli- "batam, odoriferoque musco inspersam, cum benedictione "Apostolica, ut vetus est consuetudo, aliis adhibitis sacris "ceremoniis consecratam; munus quippe dignissimum et "magni mysterii, a Romano pontifice non nisi alicui ex pri- "moribus christianorum orbis Regi aut Principi de Sancta "Apostolica sede bene merito quotannis dicari et mitti so- "litam."

of Miltitz respecting Luther, he coldly answered, that he would not act as a judge, to oppress a man whom he hitherto considered as innocent.

Conferences between Luther and Miltitz.

These discouraging appearances tended still further to convince Miltitz that the mediation of the elector would be hopeless, except he could first prevail upon Luther to listen to pacific measures. He therefore requested an interview with him, which was with some difficulty obtained. On this occasion, Miltitz cautiously avoided all theological questions, and endeavoured, by the most earnest persuasions, to induce him to lay aside the hostility which he had manifested to the holy see. He acknowledged the abuses to which the promulgation of indulgences had given rise, and highly censured the misconduct and the violence of Tetzel, whom he called before him, and reprehended with such severity, as being the cause and promoter of these dissensions, that the unfortunate monk, terrified by the threats

"litam." *Leon.* x. *Ep. ad Fred. Ducem. ap. Seckend. p.* 65. Luther, however, asserts, that the elector treated the present of the pope with contempt: "Nam et Rosam quam "vocant auream, eodem anno ei a Leone X. missam, nullo "honore dignatus est, imo, pro ridiculo habuit, ita desperare "coacti sunt Romanistæ à studiis fallendi tanti principis." *Luth. in præf. et v. Pallavicini, Concil. di Trent. lib.* i. *p.* 96.

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threats of the legate and by the letters which were afterwards addressed to him, fell a sacrifice to his vexation and his grief.(a) By these and similar measures, Luther was at length prevailed upon to relax in his opposition, and to address a letter to the pontiff, in which he laments, with apparent sincerity, the part which he had acted, and to which, as he asserts, he had been impelled by the misconduct, avarice, and violence of his enemies; and declares, in the sight of God and the world, that he had never wished to impeach the authority of the Roman see and of the pontiff, which was held by him as supreme over all in heaven and in earth, except our Lord Jesus Christ. He also professes his readiness to refrain from the further discussion of the question concerning indulgences, provided his adversaries would do the like.(b) From the pacific and obedient tenor of this letter, there is indeed reason to infer that Luther was not at this time averse to a reconciliation; nor did Leo hesitate to reply to it in terms equally pacific;

(a) When Luther was informed of his sickness, he addressed a letter to him, entreating him "to keep up his "spirits, and to fear nothing from his resentment," &c. *Luth. op. in præf.* Whether this was really intended as a consolation, the reader will judge.

(b) *v. App. No CLXXXI.*

cific; insomuch that the friends of peace began to flatter themselves that these disturbances would soon be amicably terminated.(a) But other circumstances arose which revived the fermentation of theological disputes, and gave new life to those animosities which seem to be their natural and invariable result.

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Andrew Bodenstein, better known by the name of *Carlostadt* or *Carlostadius*, assumed by him from the place of his birth, was at this time archdeacon of the cathedral at Wittemberg, and having embraced the opinions of Luther, had published a thesis in their defence. This again called forth the papal champion Eccius, and after much altercation, it was at length determined, that the dispute should be decided by single combat, substituting only the weapons of argument for those of force. Of this contest, which was carried on in the city of Leipsic, in the presence of George duke of Saxony, the uncle of the elector Frederick, and a large concourse of other eminent persons both ecclesiastical and secular, the partisans of the Roman church and the adherents to the reformation have each left a full account.

Public disputation at Leipsic.

(a) *v. Mosheim, Ecclesiast. Hist. v.* ii. *p.* 21. *note (u).*

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account.(a) After the parties had tried their skill for several successive days, Luther himself, who had accompanied his friend Carlostadt, entered the lists with Eccius. The battle was renewed with great violence, and if the disputants did not succeed in enlightening the understanding, they at least inflamed the passions of each other to a degree of animosity which sufficiently discovered itself in their future conduct.(b) Hoffman, the principal of the university of Leipsic, who sat as umpire on this occasion, was too discreet to determine between

(a) *Melchior. Adam, in vita Carlostadii, p.* 38.

(b) This famous dispute commenced on the 27th day of June, 1519. The principal question agitated between Carlostadt and Eccius was, *whether the human will had any operation in the performance of good works, or was merely passive to the power of divine grace?* The debate continued *six days;* Eccius maintaining that the *will co-operated* with the divine favour, and Carlostadt asserting its total inefficacy for any meritorious purpose. The debate between Luther and Eccius occupied *ten days*, in the course of which Luther delivered his opinion respecting *purgatory*, the existence of which he asserted could not be proved by scripture; of *indulgences*, which he contended were useless; of *the remission of punishment*, which he considered as inseparable from the remission of sin; of *repentance*, which he asserted must arise from charity and love, and was useless if induced by fear; of *the primacy of the pope*, which he boldly contended was supported by human and not by divine authority. This last point

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between the contending parties. Each, therefore, claimed the victory; but the final decision upon the various questions which had been agitated, was referred to the universities of Paris and of Erfurt. This debate was again renewed in writing, when not only Carlostadt, Eccius, and Luther, but Melancthon, Erasmus, and several other eminent scholars took an important part in asserting or opposing the various opinions which had been advanced at Leipsic. By the publication of these works the spirit of discussion and inquiry was still further extended; and whether the truth was with

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point was contested by both parties with great earnestness and ability. Luther, however, acknowledges, that he and his friends were overcome, at least by clamour and by gestures: "Ita, me Deus amet, fateri cogor victos nos esse, "clamore et gestu," *Excerpta Lutheri, de suis et Carolostadii thesibus, ap. Seckend. p.* 73.

It is remarkable that Milton appears as an advocate for the Catholic doctrine of free-will, in opposition to the Lutheran and Calvinistic opinion of the total inefficacy of the human mind to all good purposes.

"Freely they stood, who stood, and fell, who fell;
"Not free, what proof could they have given sincere
"Of true allegiance, constant faith, or love?
"Where only *what they needs must do* appear'd,
"Not *what they would*, what praise could they receive?"
Par. Lost. Book iii. *v.* 102.

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with the one, or the other, or with neither of the parties, the prolongation of the contest proved almost as injurious to the court of Rome as if its cause had experienced a total defeat.

On the return of Luther to Wittemberg, Miltitz renewed his endeavours to prevail upon him to desist from further opposition, and to submit himself to the authority of the holy see. For the accomplishment of this object he laboured unceasingly, with such commendations of the virtues and talents of Luther, and such acknowledgments of the misconduct and corruptions of the Roman court, as he thought were likely to gain his confidence and disarm his resentment; a conduct which has been considered by the papal historians as highly derogatory to the Roman pontiff, of whom he was the legate, and injurious to the cause which he was employed to defend. They have also accused this envoy of indulging himself too freely in convivial entertainments and the use of wine; on which occasions he amused his friends with many exaggerated anecdotes, to the discredit and disgrace of the Roman court; which being founded on the authority of the pope's nuncio, were received and

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and repeated as authentic.(a) Finding, however, that all his efforts to subdue the pertinacity of Luther were ineffectual, he had recourse to the assistance of the society of Augustine monks, then met in a general chapter, whom he prevailed upon to send a deputation to their erring brother, to recall him to a sense of his duty. Luther appeared to be well pleased with this mark of respect, and promised that he would again write to the pontiff with a further explanation of his conduct. Availing himself therefore of this opportunity, he addressed another letter to Leo X. which in its purport may be considered as one of the most singular, and in its consequences as one of the most important, that ever the pen of an individual produced. Under the pretext of obedience, respect, and even affection for the pontiff, he has conveyed the most determined opposition, the most bitter satire, and the most marked contempt; insomuch, that it is scarcely possible to conceive a composition more replete with insult and offence, than that which Luther affected to allow himself to be prevailed on to write by the representations of his own fraternity.

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Luther is prevailed upon to write to the Pope.

1520.

(a) *Pallav. Conc. di Trento, lib.* i. *cap.* xviii. *p.* 114.

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nity.(a) "Amongst the monsters of the age," says Luther, "with whom I have now waged "nearly a three-year's war, I am compelled at "times to turn my regards towards you, O "most holy father Leo; or rather I may say, "that as you are esteemed to be the sole cause "of the contest, you are never absent from my "thoughts. For although I have been induced "by your impious flatterers, who have attack-"ed me without any cause, to appeal to a "general council, regardless of the empty de-"crees of your predecessors, Pius and Julius, "which by a kind of stupid tyranny were in-"tended to prevent such a measure, yet I have "never allowed my mind to be so far alienated "from your holiness, as not to be most ear-"nestly solicitous for the happiness both of "yourself and your see, which I have always "endeavoured, as far as in my power, to ob-"tain from God by continual and ardent sup-"plications. It is true, I have almost learnt "to despise and to exult over the threats of "those who have sought to terrify me by the "majesty of your name and authority; but "there is one circumstance which I cannot "contemn, and which has compelled me again "to address your holiness. I understand I "have

Sarcastic letter from Luther to the Pope.

(a) *v. App. No. CLXXXII.*

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" have been highly blamed, as having had the " temerity to carry my opposition so far as " even to attack your personal character.

" I must, however, most explicitly assure " you, that whenever I have had occasion to " mention you, I have never done it but in the " best and most magnificent terms. Had I " done otherwise I should have belied my own " judgment, and should not only concur in the " opinion of my adversaries, but most willingly " acknowledge my rashness and impiety. I " have given you the appellation of a Daniel " in Babylon, and have even endeavoured to " defend you against your great calumniator " Silvester (Prierio) with a sincerity which any " reader will abundantly perceive in my works. " The unsullied reputation of your life is in- " deed so august and so celebrated in every " part of the world by the applauses of learned " men, as to set at defiance any aspersions " which can be thrown upon it. I am not so " absurd as to attack him whom every one " praises, when it has always been my rule to " spare even those whom public report con- " demns. I delight not in blazoning the crimes " of others, being conscious of the mote which " is in my own eye, and not regarding myself " as entitled to throw the first stone at an " adultress."

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After justifying the asperity with which he has commented on the misconduct of his adversaries, by the example of Christ and of the prophets and apostles, he thus proceeds: "I "must, however, acknowledge my total abhor- "rence of your see, the Roman court, which "neither you nor any man can deny is more "corrupt than either Babylon or Sodom, and "according to the best of my information, is "sunk in the most deplorable and notorious "impiety.(a) I have been therefore truly in- "dignant to find, that under your name and "the pretext of the Roman church, the peo- "ple of Christ have been made a sport of; "which I have opposed, and will oppose, as "long as the spirit of faith shall remain in me.

"Not

(a) It must be observed, that Luther had been in Rome, in the year 1510, on the affairs of his convent, where he had been greatly disgusted with the conduct of the clergy, and the manners of the people, in the performance of religious worship. "Ego Romæ," says he, "non diu fui. Ibi ce- "lebravi ipse, et vidi celebrari aliquot missas, sed ita, ut, "quoties recordor, execrer illas. Nam super mensam, in- "ter alia, audivi Curtisanos quosdam ridendo gloriari; non- "nullos in ara super panem et vinum hæc verba pronun- "tiare," *Panis es, panis manebis; vinum es, vinum manebis. Ex Luther. op. German. tom.* vi. *Jenæ, ap. Melch. Adam in vitâ*, 49. Speaking of this journey in his *Colloquia*, he observes, that he would not have exchanged it for a thousand florins. *Ib.*

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" Not that I would attempt impossibilities, or " expect that my efforts could avail against " such a hostile throng of flatterers and in the " midst of the commotions of that Babylon. " I owe, however, something to my brethren, " and conceive that it behoves me to keep " watch that they are not seized in such num- " bers, nor so violently attacked, by this Ro- " man plague. For what has Rome poured " out for these many years past (as you well " know) but the desolation of all things, both " of body and soul, and the worst examples of " all iniquity. It is indeed as clear as day- " light to all mankind, that the Roman church, " formerly the most holy of all churches, is " become the most licentious den of thieves, " the most shameless of all brothels, the king- " dom of sin, of death and of hell; the " wickedness of which not antichrist himself " could conceive.

" In the mean time you, O Leo, sit like a " lamb amidst wolves, and live like Daniel " amidst the lions, or Ezechiel among the " scorpions. But what can you oppose to " these monsters? Three or four learned " and excellent cardinals! but what are these " on such an occasion? In fact, you would " all sooner perish by poison than attempt a

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" remedy to these disorders. The fate of the " court of Rome is decreed; the wrath of God " is upon it; advice it detests; reformation it " dreads; the fury of its impiety cannot be " mitigated, and it has now fulfilled that which " was said of its mother, *We have medicined* " *Babylon and she is not healed; let us therefore* " *leave her.* It was the office of you and of " your cardinals to have applied a remedy; " but the disorder derides the hand of the " physician, *nec audit currus habenas.* Under " these impressions I have always lamented, O " most excellent Leo, that you, who are worthy " of better times, should have been elected to " the pontificate in such days as these. Rome " merits you not, nor those who resemble you, " but Satan himself, who in fact reigns more " than you in that Babylon; would that you " could exchange that state which your inve- " terate enemies represent to you as an honour, " for some petty living; or would support " yourself by your paternal inheritance; for " of such honours none are worthy but Isca- " riots, the sons of perdition."

After pouring out these invectives, and others of a similar kind, always pointed with expressions of the most contemptuous kindness for the pontiff, Luther proceeds to give a brief history of his conduct, and of the efforts

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made to pacify him by the Roman court; in which he speaks of Eccius as the servant of Satan and the adversary of Jesus Christ, and adverts to the conduct of the cardinal of Gaeta with an acrimony by no means consistent with his former professions in this respect. He then declares, that in consequence of the representations of the Augustine fathers, who had entreated him at least to honour the person of the pontiff, and assured him that a reconciliation was yet practicable, he had joyfully and gratefully undertaken the present address. "Thus I come," says he, "most holy "father, and prostrating myself before you, "entreat that you will, if possible, lay hands "on and bridle those flatterers who, whilst "they pretend to be pacific, are the enemies "of peace. Let no one, however, presume to "think, most holy father, that I shall sing a "*palinode*, unless he wishes to give rise to a "still greater storm. I shall admit of no re"straints in interpreting the word of God; "for the word of God, which inculcates the "liberty of all, must itself be free. Except in "these points, there is nothing to which I am "not ready to submit. I hate contention, I "will provoke no one; but being provoked, "whilst Christ assists me, I will not be mute. "With one word your holiness might silence

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"these commotions and establish that peace "which I so earnestly desire.

"Allow me, however, to caution you, my "good father Leo, against those syrens who "would persuade you that you are not al- "together a man, but a compound of man "and God, and can command and require "whatever you please. This, I assure you, "will be of no avail. You are the servant of "servants, and of all mankind, are seated in "the most deplorable and perilous place. Be "not deceived by those who pretend that you "are lord of the earth, that there can be no "christian without your authority, and that "you have any power in heaven, in hell, or "in purgatory. They are your enemies, and "seek to destroy your soul, as it was said by "Esaias, *O my people, they who pronounce you "happy deceive you.* Thus they impose upon "you who exalt you above a council, and the "universal church; and who attribute to you "alone the right of interpreting the scriptures, "and endeavour under your name to establish "their own impiety. Alas, by their means, "Satan has made great gain among your pre- "decessors."*(a)*

This

(a) Some of the protestant writers, willing to attribute the

This letter, which bears date the sixth day of April, 1520, was prefixed by Luther as a dedication

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the schism of the church wholly to the rash and intemperate conduct of the Roman pontiff, have passed over in silence this provoking letter of Luther, although published in the general collection of his works; *(v. Cha. Chais, Mosheim, Robertson, &c.)* others who have cited it, have supposed that Luther was serious in his professions of respect and attachment to Leo X. and that the pontiff should have considered it as a peace-offering; *(v. Sleidan and Seckendorf)* but it is not difficult to perceive that the whole is a bitter satire, rendered more galling by the pretended anxiety of the writer for the temporal and eternal welfare of the pope. Seckendorf has also attempted to prove, that although this letter bears the date of the 6th April, 1520, it was not written till the month of October following; in which opinion he has been incautiously followed by other writers. To say nothing of the decisive internal evidence of the letter having been written before the issuing of the papal bull, it may be sufficient to notice the following facts; a due attention to which would have prevented Seckendorf and his followers from falling into such an error.

I. The letter in question was prefixed, as the actual dedication to Leo X. of the book of Luther, *de Libertate Christiana*. In this form it appears in the Jena Edition of the works of Luther, where it immediately precedes the treatise, and is entitled *Epistola Lutheri ad Leonem X. Rom. Pontificem*, LIBELLO DE LIBERTATE CHRISTIANA PRÆFIXA. The dedicatory words at the close of the letter admit of no doubt that it

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dedication to his treatise on Christian liberty, which he professes to transmit to the pope as a proof

it was published with the book, "In fine, ne vacuus adve-"nerim, B. P. mecum affero tractatulum hunc, *sub tuo* "*nomine editum*, vel ut auspicio pacis componendæ et bonæ "spei," &c.

II. The precise time of the publication of this treatise is marked by the dedicatory letter itself; viz. the 6th April, 1520. It preceded, in the order of publication, the treatise, *de Captivitate Babylonica;* and the latter treatise had made its appearance in the month of August, 1520. *v. Sleidan. lib. ii. Seckend. lib. i. sec.* lxxiii.

III. The Jena Edition of the works of Luther was superintended by his particular friends soon after his death, and the greatest care was taken in arranging his writings, in order of time, according to their proper dates. This is repeatedly insisted on, in the preface by Amsdorf, as one of the chief merits of the work. "Nam multi, non considerata tempo-"rum serie, turpiter hallucinantur, *dum prætextu Scriptorum* "*Lutheri, Christum et Belial conciliare student.*" In this Edition the letter appears in its proper place, with the date of the 6th April, and before the bull of Leo X. which is dated the 15th of June.

IV. Any correspondence between Luther and Leo X. after the issuing the bull must have been well known, and given rise to great observation, as it would have shewn the conduct of Luther in a very different light from that in which it now appears, and led to very different conclusions respecting his character.

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a proof of his pacific disposition and of his desire to attend to his studies, if the flatterers of the pontiff would allow him; but which the advocates of the Roman church have considered as an additional proof of his arrogance and his disobedience. The measure of his offences was now full; the pontiff, indeed, had long been solicited to apply an effectual remedy to these disorders. The friars accused him of negligence, and complained that whilst he was employed in pompous exhibitions, in hunting, in music, or other amusements, he disregarded affairs of the highest moment. They asserted, that in matters of faith, the least deviation is of importance; that the time to eradicate the evil is before it has begun to spread itself; that the revolt of Arius was at first a spark that might have been extinguished, but which being neglected, had set fire to the world. That

The doctrines of Luther publicly condemned at Rome.

character. To have omitted or misplaced it in the Jena Edition of the works of Luther, which professes to give a history of the reformation for the years 1517, 18, 19, 20, and 21, by a regular series of authentic documents, would have been unpardonable. Even Seckendorf himself has not ventured to introduce, or even to mention such letter in his commentaries, at the time when he contends it was written; and only undertakes, in a former part of his work, to raise some doubt on the subject; "*dubitationem quandam infra aperiam;*" a doubt which a proper examination would effectually have removed.

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That the efforts of John Huss and Jerome of Prague would have been attended with similar success, if they had not been frustrated in the commencement by the vigilance of the council of Constance.(a) These sentiments were by no means agreeable to the pontiff, who, so far from wishing to resort to severity, regretted that he had already interfered so much in the business, and made himself a party where he ought to have assumed the more dignified character of a judge.(b) The remonstrances, however, of the prelates and universities of Germany, added to those of the Roman clergy, and above all, the excess to which Luther had now carried his opposition, compelled him at length to have recourse to decisive measures; and a congregation of the cardinals, prelates, theologians, and canonists, was summoned at Rome, for the purpose of deliberating on the mode in which his condemnation should be announced.

The form of the bull by which Luther and his doctrines were to be condemned, gave rise to many debates and a great variety of opinion; and

(a) *Sarpi, Hist. del Concil. di Trento. lib.* iv. *p.* 10.

(b) *Ibid.* iv. *p.* 11.

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and the authority of the pontiff was necessary to terminate a contest between the cardinals Pietro Accolti and Lorenzo Pucci the datary, each of whom had proposed the form of the bull and were earnest in defence of their respective opinions. At length, the model of Accolti was, with some variations, adopted; and this formidable document, which has been considered as the final separation of Luther and his adherents from the Roman church, and as the foundation of the celebrated council of Trent, was issued, with the date of the fifteenth day of June, 1520.(a)

Purport of the papal bull.

By this bull, the supreme pontiff, after calling upon Christ to arise and judge his own cause, and upon St. Peter, St. Paul, and all the host of saints, to intercede for the peace and unity of the church, selects forty-one articles from the assertions and writings of Luther, as heretical, dangerous, and scandalous, offensive to pious ears, contrary to Christian charity, the respect due to the Roman church, and to that obedience which is the sinew of ecclesiastical discipline. He then proceeds to condemn

(a) *Sarpi, Concil. di Trento. lib.* iv. *p.* 11. *Pallavicini, Concil. di Trento, cap.* xx. *p.* 119.

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demn them, and prohibits every person, under pain of excommunication, from advancing, defending, preaching, or favouring, the opinions therein contained. He also condemns the books published by Luther, as containing similar assertions, and directs that they shall be sought out, and publicly burnt. Proceeding then to the person of Luther, the pontiff declares, that he has omitted no effort of paternal charity to reclaim him from his errors, that he has invited him to Rome, offered him a safe-conduct and the payment of the expenses of his journey, in the full confidence that he would, on his arrival, have acknowledged his errors, and have discovered that in his contempt of the Roman court and his accusations against the holy pontiff, he had been misled by empty and malicious reports. That Luther had, notwithstanding this summons, contumaciously refused, for upwards of a year, to appear at Rome; that he still persevered in his refusal; and that adding one offence to another, he had rashly dared to appeal to a future council, in defiance of the constitutions of Pius II. and Julius II. which had declared all such appeals heretical. That in consequence of these reiterated offences, the pope might justly have proceeded to his condemnation, but that being induced by the voice of his brethren

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brethren, and imitating the clemency of the omnipotent, who desireth not the death of a sinner, he had forgotten all the offences hitherto committed by Luther against himself and the holy see, had determined to treat him with the greatest lenity, and to endeavour, by mildness alone, to recall him to a sense of his duty; in which case he was still willing to receive him, like the repentant prodigal, into the bosom of the church. He then proceeds to exhort Luther and his adherents to maintain the peace and unity of the church of Christ; prohibits them from preaching, and admonishes them, within sixty days, publicly to recant their errors, and commit their writings to the flames; otherwise he denounces them as notorious and pertinacious heretics; he requires all Christian princes and powers to seize upon Luther and his adherents and send them to Rome, or at least, to expel them from their territories; and he interdicts every place to which they may be allowed to resort; and lastly, he directs that this bull shall be read through all Christendom, and excommunicates those who may oppose its publication.*(a)* The

(a) On this bull, which effected the entire separation of the reformers from the church of Rome, Ulric Hutten wrote a series

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Its execution intrusted to Eccius.

The execution of this bull was intrusted to Eccius, who had repaired to Rome, in order to expedite it, and having accomplished his purpose, hastened with it to Germany as a trophy of his victory. The delegation of this authority to an avowed and personal enemy of Luther, was not, however, calculated to allay the resentment of that fearless reformer; and has been justly censured, even by the firmest apologists of the Roman court, as affording a pretext to Luther, that this measure was not the result of an impartial consideration of his conduct, but of the odium of his declared and inveterate enemies.*(a)*

On the publication of this instrument, Leo X. addressed a letter to the university of Wittemberg, and another to the elector Frederick,*(b)* in the latter of which, taking for granted the firm attachment of the elector to the holy church and his enmity to the efforts of

a series of sarcastic commentaries which were published in the works of Luther, *vol.* i. *p.* 423. The bull is given in the Appendix to the present work, No. CLXXXIII.

(a) Pallavicini, Concil. di Trento. cap. xx. *p.* 119.

(b) Appendix, No. CLXXXIV.

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of that "child of iniquity" Martin Luther, he commends him highly for services which he had certainly never rendered. He then proceeds to acquaint him, that all efforts to reclaim Luther having proved ineffectual, he had issued a decree against him, of which he had transmitted him a copy, printed at Rome; and entreats him to use his authority to prevail upon Luther to recant his errors, and in case of his obstinacy, to take him into custody and retain his person under the directions of the holy see. It is, however, sufficiently apparent, that this letter was rather written from political motives, to justify to the public the conduct of the Roman court, than with any expectation of influencing the elector to take a hostile part against Luther; that sovereign having only a few months before, in a letter written to Rome, decidedly expressed his opinion, "That if instead of endeavouring to "convince the reformers by arguments and "authorities from scripture, the Roman court "should have recourse to threats and violence, "it would inevitably occasion the most bitter "dissensions and destructive tumults through-"out all Germany."(a) The absence of the elector

Its execution suspended at the university of Wittemberg.

(a) *Appendix, No. CLXXXV.*

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elector, who was at the imperial court when the letter of Leo X. arrived at Wittemberg, afforded a pretext for the university to suspend the execution of the bull until his return; but, by the instigation of Eccius, the writings of Luther were publicly burnt at Cologn, Louvain, and other cities of the Netherlands and Germany.

Luther publicly burns the bull, with the decretals of the Roman see.

The first measure adopted by Luther in opposition to the pontifical decree, was to renew his appeal to a general council.(a) He soon afterwards published his animadversions upon *the execrable Bull of Leo X.*(b) in which he in his turn admonishes the pope and his cardinals to repent of their errors and to disavow their diabolical blasphemies and impious attempts; threatening them that unless they speedily comply with his remonstrances, he and all other Christians shall regard the court of Rome as the seat of Antichrist, possessed by Satan himself. He declares that he is prepared in defence of his opinions, not only to receive with joy these censures, but to entreat that he may never be absolved from them, or be numbered

(a) *App. No. CLXXXVI.*

(b) *Lutheri Op. vol. ii. p. 286.*

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bered among the followers of the Roman church, being rather willing to gratify their sanguinary tyranny by offering them his life; that if they still persist in their fury, he shall proceed to deliver over both them and their bull, with all their decretals to Satan, that by the destruction of the flesh, their souls may be liberated in the coming of our Lord. These menaces he soon afterwards carried into effect, as far as lay in his power. On the tenth day of December, 1520, he caused a kind of funeral pile to be erected without the walls of Wittemberg, surrounded by scaffolds as for a public spectacle, and when the places thus prepared were filled by the members of the university and the inhabitants of the city, Luther made his appearance with many attendants, bringing with him several volumes, containing the decrees of Gratian, the decretals of the popes, the constitutions called the Extravagants, the writings of Eccius, and of Emser, another of his antagonists, and finally a copy of the bull of Leo X. The pile being then set on fire, he with his own hands committed the books to the flames, exclaiming at the same time, *because ye have troubled the holy of the Lord, ye shall be burnt with eternal fire.*(a)

On

(a) *Lutheri Op. vol.* ii. *p.* 320. *Pallavic. Conc. di Trento, cap.* xxii. *p.* 126.

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On the following day he mounted the pulpit, and admonished his audience to be upon their guard against papistical decrees. "The conflagration we have now seen," said he, "is "a matter of small importance. It would be "more to the purpose if the pope himself, or "in other words, the papal see were also "burnt."*(a)* The example of Luther at Wittemberg was followed by his disciples in several other parts of Germany, where the papal bulls and decretals were committed to the flames with public marks of indignation and contempt. Such were the ceremonies that confirmed the separation of Luther and his followers from the court of Rome. A just representation of that hostile spirit which has subsisted between them to the present day; and which, unfortunately for the world, has not always been appeased by the burning of heretical works on the one hand, nor of papal bulls and decretals on the other.*(b)*

This

(a) "Parum esse hoc deflagrationis negotium; ex re "fore, ut Papa quoque, hoc est, sedes Papalis concremare-"tur." *Luther. op. vol.* ii. *p.* 320.

(b) An account of the ceremony of proclaiming the sentence of the pope against Luther, and the burning his books in

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This irreconcileable dissension between Luther and the church could not have arisen at a more critical juncture. A young and powerful monarch had just been seated on the imperial throne, and the part which he might take in this contest might either overthrow the papal authority throughout the central provinces of Europe, or frustrate the efforts of the reformers in the origin of their undertaking. Hence the eyes of all the Christian world were turned towards Charles V. on whose decision the fate of the reformation seemed to depend. Of the importance of this decision, Luther and the pontiff were equally aware; and accordingly they neither of them spared any pains that might secure his countenance and support. In his severe reprehensions of the bull of Leo X. Luther had already called upon Charles V. to rise up and oppose himself to the kingdom of Antichrist. He also addressed a book in the German language to the emperor and his nobles, in which he had endeavoured to prove that the pope had no authority over the imperial throne, nor any

Luther endeavours to obtain the favour of the emperor.

in St. Paul's Church-yard, London, in the presence of Wolsey and the prelates of the realm, is given in the Appendix from the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum. *v. Appendix, No. CLXXXVII.*

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right to exercise those powers which he had long claimed in the German states; and earnestly entreated the emperor not to suffer the Roman pontiff to take the sword from his hand and reign uncontrolled in his dominions.(a) Nor was Luther without a powerful friend in the elector of Saxony, who, on account of his magnanimity in refusing the imperial crown, and his effectual recommendation of Charles V. to that high dignity, enjoyed in an eminent degree the favour and confidence of that sovereign. The elector palatine, Lewis, was also supposed to be inclined towards the opinions of Luther, which had now made such a progress in various parts of Germany, as decidedly to shew that they could not be eradicated without the most sanguinary consequences. On this important occasion Luther also availed himself of the services of Ulric Hutten, and of Erasmus, the latter of whom laboured with great earnestness, by means of his friends, to discover the sentiments of Charles V. with respect to the reformers; which Luther had, however, the mortification to find were not favourable to his cause.(b)

The

(a) *Seckendorf. Comment. de Lutheranismo, lib. i. sec.* xxxiv. *p.* 127.

(b) "Erasmus scribit, aulam Imperatoris esse mendico-
"tyrannis

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The efforts of Leo X. to secure the favour of the emperor, and induce him to take an active part in the support of the Roman church, were also unremitting.(a) On the election of Charles V. it became necessary to dispatch an envoy from Rome to congratulate him on that event, for which purpose the pontiff selected Marino Caraccioli, then an apostolic notary, and who afterwards, in the pontificate of Paul III. obtained the rank of cardinal. Conceiving however, that this envoy would be sufficiently employed in watching over the political interests of the Roman see, and that the business of the reformation would require all the vigilance of an active and skilful negotiator, he sent as another nuncio, Girolamo Aleandro, to whom he intrusted the important task of exterminating the heretical opinions of Luther and his adherents. Aleandro was not only a man of great learning, but of uncommon talents

Aleandro sent as papal legate to the imperial court.

" tyrannis occupatam, ut nulla in Carolo spes esse possit. " Nec mirum. Nolite confidere in principibus, in filiis ho- " minum, in quibus non est salus." *Luther. ad Spalatinum. ap. Seckend. Comment. lib.* i. *sec.* 29. *p.* 115. *et v. Pallavicini, Conc. di Trento, cap.* xxiii. *p.* 132.

(a) *v. Sadoleti Ep. nomine Leonis* x. *Ep.* lxxii. *p.* 101. *Ed. Rom.* 1759. 8.

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lents and activity, and being warmly devoted to the Roman see, he engaged in its service with inconceivable earnestness. On his arrival in Flanders, where the emperor yet remained, he obtained his permission to carry into effect the bull of Leo X. throughout his patrimonial dominions. After the coronation of Charles at Aix la Chapelle, Aleandro accompanied him to Cologn, where the works of Luther were publicly burnt, as well as in other cities of Germany; not, however, without such an opposition in some places, as rendered it highly dangerous to those who undertook the office.

Aleandro harangues the diet of the empire against Luther.

Soon after his coronation, Charles had summoned a diet of the empire to meet at Nuremburg, in the month of January, 1521, as well for the purpose of making some important regulations as to the German confederacy, as for taking into consideration the state of religion; but on account of the plague appearing at that place, the diet assembled at Worms. As the resolutions of this meeting were expected to be decisive of the great question of the reformation, no exertions were spared by either of the contending parties to obtain a favourable decision. Besides the continual efforts of Aleandro, the cause of the Roman see was supported

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supported by many of the ecclesiastical electors and powerful barons of Germany, who endeavoured to instigate the emperor to the most violent measures;(a) they were, however, firmly opposed by the electors of Saxony and of Bavaria, and by many of the inferior nobility, who had espoused the cause of Luther, and who, by their representations as to the extension of the new opinions in Germany and the number and resolution of their adherents, occasioned great apprehensions among the partisans of the Roman see. When the discussion on the state of the church was opened, Aleandro addressed the diet, as legate of the pontiff, and in a speech of three hours, in which he is acknowledged to have acquitted himself with great ability, endeavoured to enforce the necessity of speedy and effectual measures. In the course of this oration, he asserted, that the opposition of Luther was not confined to the pontiff and the Roman see, but was directed against the most sacred dogmas of the Christian faith. That Luther had denied the power of the supreme pontiff, or even of a general council, to decide in matters of doctrine, without which there would be as many

(a) *Pallavicini, Concil. di Trento, cap.* xxiv. *p.* 137.

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many opinions of the sense of scripture as there were readers. That by impugning the doctrine of free agency, and preaching up that of a certain uncontrollable necessity, a door was opened for all kinds of wickedness and licentiousness, as it would be thought a sufficient excuse to allege that such crimes were inevitable. After discussing these and many similar topics, he concluded with observing, that the Roman court had laboured during four years, without effect, to subdue this detestable heresy, and that nothing now remained but to entreat the interference of the emperor and the Germanic states, who might by an imperial edict, expose both it and its author to merited execration and contempt.*(a)*

Had Luther or any of his zealous and learned adherents been present on this occasion, to have replied to the arguments and opposed the assertions of Aleandro, to have directed the attention of the assembly to the ambition and proud assumptions of the Roman pontiffs, and expatiated on the abuses of the papal see in converting

(a) The harangue of Aleandro is given entire by Pallavicini, from documents preserved in the archives of the Vatican. *Concil. di Trento, lib.* xxv. *p.* 142.

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converting the religion of Christ into an engine of rapine and a source of gain, it is probable that the effect produced by this harangue might have been in a great degree obviated; but as the assertions and reasonings of Aleandro remained unanswered, they produced a visible impression on the diet, which was now ready to adopt the most violent proceedings against the adherents of the new opinions.(a) The elector of Saxony, whilst he appeared to agree with the rest of the assembly as to the expediency of coercive measures, observed however, that in this instance they were about to decide not only on points of doctrine, but against Luther individually, who was supposed to have been the author of them. That this was a question of fact, which ought to be ascertained; for which purpose he ought to be called upon to appear before the diet, and to declare whether he had or had not taught those opinions which were said to be found in his books. This proposition was extremely vexatious to Aleandro, who as well from the result of his own judgment, as by particular instructions from Rome, had avoided all opportunities of entering into disputations with the

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Luther cited to appear before the diet.

(a) *Pallavicini, lib.* i. *cap.* xxvi. *p.* 157.

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the reformers, and who was apprehensive that the well-known eloquence and resolution of Luther would efface the impression which he had already made upon the assembly. The emperor, however, was inclined to favour the proposal of the elector, observing, that it might otherwise be pretended that Luther had been condemned unheard; but in order to appease the legate, he consented that the only question to be proposed to Luther should be, whether he would retract the errors which he had published in his writings.(a) On the sixth day of March the emperor dispatched his messenger Gaspar Sturmius with letters addressed to Luther, in terms sufficiently respectful,(b) and accompanied them by an imperial safe-conduct, which was confirmed by the princes through whose territories it was necessary that Luther should pass.

He proceeds to Worms.

On receiving the imperial mandate, Luther lost no time in preparing for his journey. To the remonstrances of his friends, who endeavoured to deter him from this expedition by reminding him of the examples of John Huss and

(a) *Maimburg. ap. Seckendorf. lib.* i. *p.* 150.

(b) Appendix, No. CLXXXVIII.

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and Jerome of Prague, who by the shameless violation of a similar passport were betrayed to their destruction, he firmly replied, that if there were as many devils at Worms as there were tiles on the houses, he would not be deterred from his purpose.(a) He arrived at Worms on the sixteenth day of April. On his journey he was accompanied by his zealous adherent Amsdorff and several other friends, and preceded by the imperial messenger in his official habit.(b) On passing through Erfurt he was met by the inhabitants and honourably received. By the connivance of the messenger, who had orders to prevent his preaching on the journey, Luther harangued the populace in this city and other places. The papists, as they now began to be called, having

(a) "Oppenheimii autem ab amicis, ipsoque Spalatino, "ne veniret per literas monitus respondit, 'Si tot Diaboli "Wormatiæ essent, quot in domibus lateritiæ tegulæ, se "tamen intrepide eo venturum esse." *Lutheri Ep. ap. Seckend. lib.* i. *p.* 152.

(b) Maimburg asserts that Luther travelled in a magnificent carriage, with an escort of honour of 100 horse; but Seckendorf has shewn that these accounts were exaggerated by his enemies for the purpose of charging him with ostentation. His appearance at Worms was, however, sufficiently respectable. *v. Seckend. lib.* i. *p.* 152.

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having flattered themselves with the expectation that he would have refused to make his appearance at Worms, and thereby have afforded a sufficient pretext for his condemnation, were alarmed and mortified at his approach with so respectable a retinue. On his arrival at that city, he was surrounded by upwards of two thousand persons, many of them attached to his opinions, and all of them desirous of seeing a man who had rendered himself so famous throughout Europe.(a)

His first appearance before the assembly.

In the afternoon of the following day Luther was introduced to the diet, by the marshal count Pappenheim, who informed him that he was not to be allowed to address the assembly, but was merely expected to reply to the questions which might be proposed to him. The person appointed to interrogate him was John ab Eyk, or Eccius, not his avowed adversary, but another person of the same name, chancellor or official to the archbishop of Treves. The first question proposed to Luther was, whether he acknowledged himself to be the author of the books published in his name. The

(a) *v. Viti Warbeccii Relationem de itinere et adventu Lutheri; ap. Seckendorf. lib. i. p. 152. addit.*

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The second whether he was ready to retract what had been condemned in those books. To the first question he answered, after hearing the titles of the books read, that he was the author of them and should never deny them. But in reply to the second, he observed, that as it was a question concerning faith and the salvation of souls, and as it involved the divine word, than which nothing is greater in heaven or on earth, it would be rash and dangerous in him to give an unpremeditated answer, which might either fall short of the dignity of his cause, or exceed the bounds of truth; and might subject him to the sentence pronounced by Christ, *whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I deny before my father who is in heaven.* He therefore entreated that he might be allowed time to deliberate, so that he might answer without injury to the divine word, or danger to his own soul. The emperor, having advised with the members of the diet, complied with his request, and directed that he should appear again on the following day to deliver his final answer, which he was informed would not be allowed to be in writing.*(a)*

On

(a) These particulars are given by Luther himself, *Op. vol.* ii. *p.* 412.

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Circumstances attending it.

On this first interview, some circumstances occurred which deserve particular notice. Whilst Luther was passing to the assembly, he was surrounded with immense crowds, and even the roofs of the houses were almost covered with spectators. Among these, and even when he stood in the presence of the diet, he had the satisfaction to hear frequent exhortations addressed to him to keep up his courage, to act like a man, accompanied with passages from scripture, *Not to fear those who can kill the body only, but to fear him who can cast both body and soul into hell.* And again, *When ye shall stand before kings, think not how you shall speak; for it shall be given to you in that same hour.(a)* His adversaries were, however, gratified to find that instead of replying, he had thought it necessary to ask time to deliberate; and the apologists of the Roman see have affected to consider it as a proof that he possessed no portion of the divine spirit; otherwise he would not, by his delay, have given rise to a doubt whether he meant to retract his opinions.*(b)* We are also informed, that

(a) *Lutheri, Op. vol.* i. *p.* 412, *&c.*

(b) "Hæc profecto responsio non sapiebat genium Pro-
"phetæ

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that his conduct on this occasion fell so far short of what was expected from him, that the emperor said, *This man will certainly never induce me to become a heretic.(a)* To observations of this kind the friends of Luther might have replied, that the prohibition imposed upon him before the assembly, prevented him from entering into a general vindication either of his opinions or his conduct. That with respect to his having exhibited no symptoms of divine inspiration, he had never asserted any pretensions to such an endowment; but, on the contrary, had represented himself as a fallible mortal, anxious only to discharge his duty and to consult the safety of his own soul. And that, as to the remark of the emperor, if in fact such an assertion escaped him, it proved no more than that he had been already prejudiced against Luther; and that by a youthful impatience, which he ought to have restrained, he had already anticipated his condemnation.

On the following day, Luther again appeared

" phetæ divinitus inspirati, cum ex ea spes appareret, " retractaturum ipsum dogmata sua esse." *Maimb. ap. Seckend. lib.* i. *p.* 153.

(a) Pallavicini. lib. i. *cap.* xxvi. *p.* 160.

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His second appearance.

ed before the diet, and being called upon to answer whether he meant to retract the opinions asserted in his writings, in reply he first observed, that these writings were of different kinds and on different subjects. That some related only to the inculcation of piety and morality, which his enemies must confess to be innocent and even useful; and that he could not therefore retract these, without condemning what both his friends and his foes must equally approve. That others were written against the papacy and the doctrines of the papists, which had been so generally complained of, particularly in Germany, and by which the consciences of the faithful had been so long ensnared and tormented. That he could not retract these writings without adding new strength to the cause of tyranny, sanctioning and perpetuating that impiety which he had hitherto so firmly opposed, and betraying the cause which he had undertaken to defend. That among his writings there was a third kind, in which he had inveighed against those who had undertaken to defend the tyranny of Rome and attacked his own opinions, in which he confessed that he had been more severe than became his religion and profession. That however, he did not consider himself as a saint, but as a man liable to error, and that he could only

only say, in the words of Jesus Christ, *If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil.* That he was at all times ready to defend his opinions, and equally ready to retract any of them which might be proved from reason and scripture, and not from authority, to be erroneous; and would even, in such case, be the first to commit his own books to the flames. That with respect to the dissensions which it had been said would be occasioned in the world by his doctrines, it was of all things the most pleasant to him to see dissensions arise on account of the word of God. That such dissensions were incident to its very nature, course, and purpose, as was said by our Saviour, *I come not to send peace among you, but a sword.* He then with great dignity and firmness, admonished the young emperor to be cautious in the commencement of his authority, not to give occasion to those calamities which might arise from the condemnation of the word of God, and cited the example of Pharaoh and of the kings of Israel, who had incurred the greatest dangers when they had been surrounded by their counsellors, and employed, as they supposed, in the establishment and pacification of their dominions. When Luther had finished, the orator of the assembly observed, in terms of reprehension, that he had

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had not answered to the purpose; that what had been defined and condemned by the council ought not to be called in question, and that he must therefore give a simple and unequivocal answer, whether he would retract or not; Luther replied in Latin, in which language he had before spoken, in these terms.

He refuses to retract his writings.

"Since your majesty, and the sovereigns "now present, require a simple answer, I shall "reply thus, without evasion, and without ve- "hemence. Unless I be convinced, by the "testimony of scripture, or by evident reason, "(for I cannot rely on the authority of the "pope and councils alone, since it appears "that they have frequently erred, and contra- "dicted each other) and unless my conscience "be subdued by the word of God, I neither "can nor will retract any thing; seeing that "to act against my own conscience is neither "safe nor honest." After which he added in his native German, *Here I take my stand; I can do no other; God be my help! Amen.(a)*

The orator made another effort to induce him

(a) HIER STEHE ICH, ICH GAN NICHT ANDERS. GOTT HELFF MIR. AMEN.

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him to relax from his determination, but to no purpose; and night approaching, the assembly separated; several of the Spaniards who attended the emperor having expressed their disapprobation of Luther by hisses and groans.(a)

Observations on his conduct.

Such was the result of this memorable interview, which each of the adverse parties seems to have considered as a cause of triumph and exultation. The Romish historians assert that the conduct of Luther on this occasion diminished his credit, and greatly disappointed the expectations which had been formed of him; whilst his apologists represent it as highly to be commended and in every respect worthy of his character. Nor can it be denied, that when the acuteness of his interrogator compelled him either to assert or to retract the doctrines which he had maintained, he rose to the height of his great task with that inflexible intrepidity, which was the characteristic feature of his mind. Of the theological tenets so earnestly inculcated by Luther, different opinions will be entertained; and whilst some approve, and some condemn them, there are perhaps others who consider many of them

(a) *Lutheri op. vol.* ii. 412. *et seq.*

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as unimportant, and founded merely on scholastic and artificial distinctions; as equivocal, from the uncertainty of their effects on the life and conduct of those who embrace them; or as unintelligible, being totally beyond the limits and comprehension of human reason; but all parties must unite in admiring and venerating the man, who undaunted and alone, could stand before such an assembly, and vindicate, with unshaken courage, what he conceived to be the cause of religion, of liberty, and of truth; fearless of any reproaches but those of his own conscience, or of any disapprobation but that of his God. This transaction may, indeed, be esteemed as the most remarkable and the most honourable incident in the life of that great reformer; by which his integrity, and his sincerity, were put to the test, no less than his talents and his resolution. That he considered it as a proof of uncommon fortitude, appears from the language in which he adverted to it a short time before his death: *Thus*, said he, *God gives us fortitude for the occasion; but I doubt whether I should now find myself equal to such a task.(a)*

At

(a) "Ita Deus impavidum reddere potest hominem; "nescio an nunc tam fortis essem." *Luther. ap. Seckend. l. 2. i. p.* 152.

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At the meeting of the diet on the following day the emperor produced a paper, written with his own hand, which he read to the assembly; and which contained a concise statement of his sentiments on the opinions and conduct of Luther and his followers.(a) Of this paper he sent a copy to his ambassador at Rome to be communicated to the pontiff, who directed it to be read in full consistory, and immediately dismissed a brief to return his acknowledgments to the emperor; at the close of which, with a condescension unusual in the supreme pontiffs in this mode of address, he added several lines written with his own hand.(b) The emperor's *Polizza*, or address to the assembly, was to the following effect. That the assembly well knew that he derived his origin from the most Christian emperors, from the catholic kings of Spain, the archdukes of Austria, and the dukes of Burgundy; all of whom had distinguished themselves by their obedience to the Roman see and the supreme pontiff, and had been the protectors and defenders of the catholic faith. That it now became his duty, as the successor of such

The emperor declares his opinion in writing.

(a) *v. Appendix, No. CLXXXIX.*

(b) *v. Appendix, No. CXC.*

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ancestors, to imitate their example, and to maintain and confirm the decrees of the council of Constance and of the other councils of the church. That an individual Friar, misled by his own opinion, had now, however, ventured to overturn the decisions of all Christendom; which, if his notions were true, must hitherto have been erroneous. But that as such assertions were most false and dangerous, he had resolved to devote his dominions, his empire, his nobles, his friends, his body, and his soul too if necessary, in order to prevent the further progress of this disorder. That after having heard the obstinate replies given by Luther on the preceding day, he lamented that he had so long hesitated in fulminating a process against him and his doctrines; and had now adopted the resolution not to hear him again, but to direct that he should quit the court, according to the tenor of his passport, the conditions of which he should be bound strictly to fulfil, and not to endeavour by preaching, writing, or in any other manner, to excite popular commotions. That for his own part he was resolved to proceed against Luther as an avowed heretic; and he called upon the assembly as good and faithful Christians, to unite with him, as they had promised to do, in the measures necessary on this occasion.

Notwithstanding

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Notwithstanding this decisive declaration of the sentiments of the young emperor, the assembly were not unanimously disposed to concur in such hasty and violent proceedings.(a) Even the adversaries of Luther, intimidated by the rapid increase of his opinions, and by reports of a league of four hundred German nobles, who were said to be ready to take up arms in his behalf, were inclined rather to afford him a further hearing, than to brave the consequences of an open hostility. His friends also interposed their good offices, and perhaps the assembly in general might consider the decision of the emperor, which was made before the members present had deliberated on the subject, as at least hasty and premature, if not an infringement on their privileges. From these and similar causes all parties united in requesting the emperor to allow Luther another hearing, alleging, that if he persevered in his heresy, he would afford a still better reason for the proceedings intended to be adopted against him; and although Charles still refused to

Further efforts to prevail upon Luther to retract.

(a) Pallavicini, *lib.* i. *cap.* xxvii. *p.* 163. asserts, that the whole assembly concurred in the opinion of the emperor, "tutta la dieta concorse nella sentenza di Cesare;" but this is sufficiently contradicted by the observations in the *Lettere di Principi. vol.* i. *p.* 93.

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to grant this request in public, yet he consented to give him permission to remain at Worms three days longer, during which time any of the members of the diet might use their endeavours to prevail upon him to retract his errors.(a)

In consequence of this resolution, the archbishop of Treves, Richard de Griffelan, undertook the office of mediator between Luther and the diet, for which purpose he had several interviews with him; at which the good archbishop conducted himself with such moderation and kindness towards Luther, and made such concessions and propositions on the part of the church, as greatly displeased the papal nuncio Aleandro, without, however, effecting any alteration in the determination which Luther had adopted, to abide by the consequences of his own conduct. These conferences, by the assent of the diet, were continued for two days longer; but, although Luther appears to have been sensible of the lenity and good intentions of the archbishop, to whom he addressed himself in the most respectful and friendly terms, yet, in such a cause, he was no less on his

(a) *Pallavicini, lib.* i. *cap.* xxvii. *p.* 163.

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his guard against the influence of gentleness and persuasion, than he had before been against all the terrors of authority. Being at length asked by the archbishop whether he could himself suggest any expedient which might tend to restore the public quiet, he replied in the words of Gamaliel, *if this undertaking be the work of men, it will be overthrown; but if of God, ye cannot overthrow it.(a)* The result of this interview being made known to the emperor, Luther was ordered to leave the city, and not to be found within the imperial dominions after the expiration of twenty days. There were not wanting on this occasion, some who suggested to the emperor, that notwithstanding his solemn passport he ought not to suffer so notorious a heretic to escape;*(b)* but besides the disgrace which this would have brought both upon him and the assembly, and the reluctance of the emperor to stain the commencement of his reign by an act of treachery, it is probable that such a measure would have occasioned commotions which would not easily

(a) "Si ex hominibus consilium aut opus hoc est, dissolvetur; Si vero ex Deo est, dissolvere non poteritis." *Luth. op. vol.* ii. *p.* 416. *b. Seckend. lib.* i. *p.* 157.

(b) *Sarpi, Concil. di Trento, lib.* i. *p.* 15.

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easily have been allayed. Luther therefore left the city on the twenty-sixth day of April, accompanied by the imperial herald; and being met at the gate by a large body of his friends, proceeded on his journey to Wittemberg.

After the departure of Luther, the pontifical legates exerted all their influence to obtain a decree of the diet against him; but notwithstanding their efforts, this was not accomplished until the twenty-sixth day of May. By this document, which resembles a papal bull rather than a great national act, and which represents Luther *as the devil in the semblance of a man and the dress of a monk,*(a) all the subjects of the empire are required to seize upon him and his adherents, to destroy their property and to burn their books and writings; and all printers are prohibited from publishing their works without the approbation of the ordinary. In the mean time Luther had found a shelter against the approaching storm. As he

(a) "Illum unum non ut hominem, sed diabolum ipsum, sub homiñis specie, ad perniciem generis humani assumpta monachi cuculla," &c. The form of the edict is said to have been prepared by Aleandro. *v. Seckendorf, lib. i. sec. 46. p. 158.*

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he was passing through a wood near Altenstein, on his return to Wittemberg, with only a few attendants, he was seized upon by several persons employed by the elector of Saxony for that purpose, and carried to the castle of Wartburg, where he remained in great privacy during the remainder of the pontificate of Leo X. At this place, which he called his *Patmos*, he devoted himself to study, and composed several of his theological tracts. He had already, however, sown the seeds, which grew equally well in his absence as in his presence, and which, notwithstanding the storm excited by the apostolic nuncios, soon spread such vigorous roots as defied all the efforts of the papal see to destroy them.

Is privately conveyed to the castle of Wartburg.

Nor were the new opinions confined to the limits of Germany. Within the space of four years they had extended themselves from Hungary and Bohemia, to France and to England; having in all places attracted the notice and obtained the approbation of a great part of the inhabitants. Such was the reception they met with in this country, that Henry VIII. who had in his youth devoted some portion of his time to ecclesiastical and scholastic studies, not only attempted to counteract their effects by severe restrictions, but condescended to enter

Henry VIII. writes against Luther.

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enter the lists of controversy with Luther, in his well known work written in Latin, and entitled, *A Vindication of the seven Sacraments.(a)* This work Henry dedicated to Leo X. and transmitted a copy to Rome with the following distich:

" Anglorum Rex Henricus, Leo Decime, mittit
" Hoc opus, et fidei testem et Amicitiæ."

It was presented to the pontiff in full consistory, by the ambassador of the king, who made a long and pompous oration; to which the pope replied in a concise and suitable manner.*(b)* The satisfaction which Leo derived

(a) Assertio septem Sacramentorum adversus Martinum Lutherum. The original, in an elegant MS. is still preserved in the library of the Vatican, and is usually shewn to Englishmen on their visits to Rome. *v. Dr. Smith's Tour to the Continent, vol.* ii. *p.* 200. From this copy it was printed at Rome, " in ædibus Francisci Priscianensis Florentini, " 1543." as appears by the colophon, *Descriptus liber ex eo est, quem ad Leonem X. Pont. Max. Rex ipse misit*, but it had before been published in London, *in ædibus Pynsonianis*, 1521, and at Antwerp, *in ædibus Michaelis Hillenii*, in the year 1522. On this occasion several of the Italian scholars, and particularly Vida, and Colocci, addressed Latin poems to the king. *v. App. No. CXCI.*

(b) " Extat typis eo anno vulgata Joh. Clerici, Angliæ " Regis

rived from this circumstance, at a time when the supremacy of the holy see was in such imminent

" Regis legati, *Oratio ad Leonem habita*, cum ei librum " Regis nomine in consessu Cardinalium offerret, satis tu- " mida; cui Leo breviter et apte respondit." *Seckendorf*, *lib.* i. *p.* 184.

Luther replied to this book in his Treatise *contra Henricum VIII. Angliæ Regem;* which he addressed to Seb. Schlick, a Bohemian nobleman, in a dedication which bears date, 15th July, 1522. In this work he treats the king, without any ceremony, as a *liar* and a *blasphemer*. " Nunc " quum prudens et sciens mendacia componat adversus mei " Regis majestatem in cœlis, damnabilis Putredo ista et " Vermis, jus mihi erit pro meo Rege, majestatem Anglicam " luto suo et stercore conspergere, et coronam istam blasphe- " mam in Christum, pedibus conculcare." But whilst he stigmatizes the book of Henry VIII. as *stolidissimum* and *turpissimum*, he acknowledges it to be " inter omnes qui " contra se scripti sunt latinissimum." He insinuates, however, that it was written by some other person in the name of the king. An answer to the work of Luther was published, or re-published, Lond. 1523, under the following title, &c. ERUDITISSIMI VIRI GULIELMI ROSSEI *opus elegans, doctum, festivum, pium, quo pulcherrime retegit ac refellit insanas Lutheri calumnias; quibus invictissimum Angliæ Galliæque Regem Henricum ejus nominis octavum, Fidei defensorem, haud literis minus quam regno clarum scurra turpissimus insectatur, &c.* In this work, which is attributed to Sir Thomas More, the author has not only endeavoured to refute the arguments, but to equal the abuse of the

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imminent danger, may be judged of by the desire which he shewed to express to the king his approbation of the part he had taken. After returning him ample thanks, and granting an indulgence to every person who should peruse the book, he resolved to confer upon him some distinguishing mark of the pontifical favour, and accordingly proposed in the consistory to honour him with the title of *Defender of the Faith.* This proposition gave rise, however, to more deliberation, and occasioned greater difficulty in the sacred college than perhaps the pope had foreseen. Several of the cardinals suggested other titles, and it was for

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the German reformer; and he concludes it by leaving him, "cum suis furiis et furoribus, cum suis merdis et stercoribus, cacantem cacatumque." Such are the *elegantiæ* of religious controversies. A few years afterwards, when Luther began to suspect that the king was not indisposed to favour his opinions, he wrote to him to excuse the violence and abuse contained in his book, which he attributed to the advice of others, acknowledging that he had published it too rashly, and offering to make a public apology. To this Henry condescended to write a long and argumentative reply, in which he advises Luther to retract his errors, or to shut himself up in a monastery and repent of his sins. These letters have been published without note of place or date, and are prefixed in the copy now before me, to the treatise of Henry on the seven sacraments.

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for a long time debated whether, instead of the appellation of defender of the faith, the sovereigns of England should not in all future times be denominated *the Apostolic*, *the Orthodox*, *the Faithful*, or, *the Angelic*.(a) The proposition of the pope, who had been previously informed of the sentiments of Wolsey on this subject, at length, however, prevailed, and a bull was accordingly issued, conferring this title on Henry and his posterity:(b) a title retained by his successors to the present day, notwithstanding their separation from the Roman church; which has given occasion to some orthodox writers to remark, that the kings of this country should either maintain that course of conduct in reward for which the distinction was conferred, or relinquish the title.(c)

Reformation of Switzerland by Zuinglius.

That the spirit of the times, and in particular, a marked dissatisfaction with the proceedings of the Roman court, and an increasing

(a) *Pallavicini, Concil. di Trento, lib.* ii. *cap.* i. *sec.* viii. *p.* 177.

(b) *v. Appendix, No. CXCII.*

(c) *Maimb. ap. Seckend. lib.* i. *p.* 183.

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ing latitude of discussion and inquiry had prepared the way for the success of Luther, may sufficiently appear from circumstances which occurred about the same time in other parts of Europe. Even in the year 1516, and before Luther had published his celebrated propositions at Wittemberg, Ulric Zuinglius an ecclesiastic of Zurich, had boldly opposed himself to the assumptions of the Roman church, and engaged in a system of reform which he carried on with a degree of ability and resolution not inferior to that of Luther himself. The promulgation of indulgences in the Swiss cantons, by the agency of a friar named Sansone or Samson, afforded him new grounds of reprehension, of which he did not fail successfully to avail himself; and a controversy was maintained between the papists and the reformers in the Helvetic states, which resembled, both in its vehemence and its consequences, that between Luther and Tetzel in Germany.(a) As the opposition of Zuinglius had arisen without any communication with Luther, so the doctrines which he asserted were not always in conformity with those advanced by the German reformer, and

(a) *v. Mosheim's Ecclesiast. Hist. vol.* ii. *p.* 190. *&c.*

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and on some important points were directly contrary to them. In truth, the opposition of Zuinglius to the papal see, was carried to a greater extent than that of Luther, who still retained some of the most mysterious dogmas of the Roman church, whilst it was the avowed object of the Helvetic reformer to divest religion of all abstruse doctrines and superstitious opinions, and to establish a pure and simple mode of worship. In consequence of this diversity, a dispute arose, which was carried on with great warmth, and which principally turned on the question respecting the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, which was firmly asserted by Luther, but not assented to by Zuinglius, who regarded the bread and wine used in that sacrament as types or symbols only of the body and blood of Christ.(a) On this subject a conference was held between the two reformers at Marpurg, in which Zuinglius was accompanied by Oecolampadius

(a) Luther endeavoured to explain his doctrine of the real presence, by comparing it to *a red-hot iron*, in which, said he, as two distinct substances, viz. *iron* and *fire* are united, so is the body of Christ joined with the bread in the Eucharist. Dr. Maclaine calls this a miserable comparison. *v. Note (z) on Mosh. Ecclesiast. Hist. vol.* ii. *p.* 34.

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lampadius and Bucer; and Luther by Philip Melancthon and others of his friends. Both parties appealed with confidence to the authority of scripture for the truth of their opinions, and both discovered that an appeal to those sacred writings will not always terminate a dispute. Persevering in his original intention of restoring the Christian religion to its primitive simplicity, Zuinglius became the founder of that which is denominated, in contra-distinction to the Lutheran, the Reformed Church. To this great undertaking, he devoted not only his learning and his abilities, but also his life, having in the year 1530, fallen in battle in defending the cause of the reformers against the adherents of the Roman church;(a) leaving behind him an example not only of heroic firmness in maintaining his own opinions, but, what is far more extraordinary, of enlightened toleration to all those who might conscientiously differ from him in matters of faith.

In order to form a proper estimate of the conduct and character of Luther, it is necessary

(a) *Mosheim's Ecclesiast. Hist.* ii. 192. *Planta's Hist. of the Helvetic Confederacy. vol.* ii. *p.* 148.

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sary to consider him in two principal points of view. First, as an opponent to the haughty assumptions and gross abuses of the Roman see; and secondly, as the founder of a new church, over which he may be said to have presided until the time of his death in 1546, an interval of nearly thirty years. In the former capacity we find him endeavouring to substitute the authority of reason and of scripture for that of councils and of popes, and contending for the utmost latitude in the perusal and construction of the sacred writings, which, as he expressed it, could not be chained, but were open to the interpretation of every individual. For this great and daring attempt he was peculiarly qualified. A consciousness of his own integrity, and the natural intrepidity of his mind, enabled him not only to brave the most violent attacks of his adversaries, but to treat them with a degree of derision and contempt, which seemed to prove the superiority of his cause. Fully sensible of the importance and dignity of his undertaking, he looked with equal eyes on all worldly honours and distinctions; and emperors, and pontiffs, and kings were regarded by him as men and as equals, who might merit his respect or incur his resentment, according as they were inclined

Conduct and character of Luther considered.

His bold assertion of the right of private judgment.

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clined to promote or obstruct his views.(a) Nor was he more firm against the stern voice of authority, than against the blandishments of flattery, and the softening influence of real or of pretended friendship. The various attempts which were made to induce him to relax in his opposition, seem in general to have confirmed rather than shaken his resolution, and if at any time he shewed a disposition towards

(a) To say nothing of his abuse of Henry VIII. it may be observed, that it was not without great reluctance that he addressed Charles V. by the title of *Dominus Clementissimus*, "cum sciat orbis," says he, "esse mihi infensissimum, "et hunc fucum manifestum omnes ridebunt." *Seckend. lib.* i. 196. But the language in which he rejects the protection of his great friend the elector is yet more remarkable. "Scribo hæc Celsitudini tuæ, ut sciat me longe po- "tentiori sub protectione quam Electorali, Wittembergam "ire. Nolo a te protegi, nec gladio ad hanc causam opus "est. Deus absque ullo hominum auxilio illam est cura- "turus. Quoniam igitur Celsitudo tua infirma est fide, "non possum eam pro defensore meo habere. Quoniam "autem scire vult, quid sibi agendum sit, dicitque se mi- "nus justo fecisse; dico ego, nil tibi faciendum esse, et "jam nimium te fecisse. Non fert Deus ut tua Celsitudo "aut ego causam vi tueamur; si hæc credis tutus eris; sin "minus, ego tamen credo, et sinam ut tua te angat incredu- "litas. Excusatus itaque es, quoniam tibi obsequi nolo, "si capior ego aut occidor." *Ex fragm. Lutheri Ep. ap. Seckend. lib.* i. *p.* 195.

towards conciliatory measures, it was only a symptom that his opposition would soon be carried to a greater extreme. The warmth of his temperament, seldom, however, prevented the exercise of his judgment, and the various measures to which he resorted for securing popularity to his cause, were the result of a thorough knowledge of the great principles of human nature and of the peculiar state of the times in which he lived. The injustice and absurdity of resorting to violence, instead of convincing the understanding by argument, were shewn by him in the strongest light. Before the imperial diet he asserted his own private opinion, founded as he contended on reason and scripture, against all the authorities of the Roman church; and the important point which he incessantly laboured to establish, was the right of private judgment in matters of faith. To the defence of this proposition, he was at all times ready to devote his learning, his talents, his repose, his character, and his life; and the great and imperishable merit of this reformer, consists in his having demonstrated it by such arguments, as neither the efforts of his adversaries, nor his own subsequent conduct, have been able either to refute or invalidate.

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His inflexible adherence to his own opinions.

As the founder of a new church, the character of Luther appears in a very different light. After having effected a separation from the see of Rome, there yet remained the still more difficult task of establishing such a system of religious faith and worship, as without admitting the exploded doctrines of the papal church, would prevent that licentiousness which, it was supposed, would be the consequence of a total absence of all ecclesiastical restraints. In this task, Luther engaged with a resolution equal to that with which he had braved the authority of the Romish church; but with this remarkable difference, that in the one instance he effected his purpose by strenuously insisting on the right of private judgment in matters of faith, whilst in the other he succeeded by laying down new doctrines, to which he expected that all those who espoused his cause should implicitly submit. The opinions of Luther on certain points were fixed and unalterable. The most important of these were the doctrine of the real presence in the Eucharist, and the justification of mankind by faith alone. Whoever assented not to these propositions was not of his church; and although he was ready on all occasions to make use of arguments from scripture for the defence of his tenets,

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tenets, yet when these proved insufficient, he seldom hesitated to resort to more violent measures. This was fully exemplified in his conduct towards his friend Carlostadt, who not being able to distinguish between the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation and that of the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, had, like Zuinglius, adopted the idea that the bread and the wine were only the symbols, and not the actual substance of the body and blood of Christ.*(a)* Luther, however, maintained his opinion with the utmost obstinacy; the dispute became the subject of several violent publications, until Luther, who was now supported by the secular power, obtained the banishment of Carlostadt, who was at length reduced to the necessity of earning his bread by his daily labour.*(b)* The unaccommodating adherence of Luther to this opinion, placed also an effectual bar to the union of the Helvetic and German reformers, and to such an uncharitable extreme did he carry

(a) Mosheim's Ecclesiast. Hist. vol. ii. *p.* 165, *and note (h) of Dr. Maclaine.*

(b) Maimburg. ap. Seckendorf, lib. i. *p.* 199. *Mosheim's Ecclesiast. Hist.* ii. 165. *note (k).*

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carry his resentment against those who denied the real presence, that he refused to admit the Swiss, and the German cities and states which had adopted the sentiments of Zuinglius and Bucer, into the confederacy for the defence of the protestant church;(a) choosing rather to risk the total destruction of his cause, than to avail himself of the assistance of those who did not concur with him in every particular article of belief.

Nor did Luther adhere less pertinaciously to the doctrine of predestination, and of justification by faith alone, than to that of the real presence in the Eucharist.(b) In support of these opinions he warmly attacked Erasmus, who had attempted to maintain the freedom

(a) *Mosheim's Ecclesiast. Hist.* ii. 192. *Planta's Hist. of the Helvetic Confederacy, vol.* ii. *p.* 147.

(b) The doctrine of predestination was first advanced by Austin, in consequence of what he had maintained in the pelagian controversy, on the subjects of *grace* and *original sin*. *Priestley's Hist. of the Christian Church, vol.* iii. *p.* 256. *Ed. Northumb.* 1802. It was afterwards (about the year 847) more rigorously insisted on by Godeschalcus, a Saxon monk, "who seems to have pursued the leading "principles of Austin nearly to their full extent." *Ib. p.* 257.

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don of the human will, and when that great scholar and candid Christian replied, in his *Hyperaspistes*, Luther increased his vehemence to scurrility and abuse. "That exas- "perated viper Erasmus," says he, "has "again attacked me; what eloquence will the "vain-glorious animal display in the over- "throw of Luther!"*(a)* In defending his opinion as to the all-sufficiency of faith, he suffered himself to be carried to a still further extreme; and after having vindicated his doctrines against councils, and popes, and fathers, he at length impeached the authority of one of the apostles, asserting that the epistle of James, in which the necessity of good works to a perfect faith is expressly stated and beautifully illustrated, was, in comparison with the writings of Peter and of Paul, a mere book of straw.*(b)*

It

(a) "Præterea vipera illa irritata iterum in me scribit "Erasmus Roterod. Quam exercebit ibi eloquentiam, in "sternendo Luthero, gloriæ istud animal vanissimum?" *Luth. ap. Melchior Adam. in vita Lutheri, p.* 63. Luther also accused Erasmus of being an atheist, an enemy to christianity, &c. *v. Erasm. Ep. lib.* xxi. *Ep.* 44.

(b) I am aware of the fate of Edmund Campian the jesuit,

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Uncharitable spirit of the first reformers.

It would too far exceed the necessary limits of these pages to dwell upon the dissensions to which this inflexible adherence of Luther to certain opinions gave rise, or on the severity with which he treated those who unfortunately happened to believe too much on the one hand or too little on the other, and could not walk steadily on the hair-breadth

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suit, who having in his conferences, whilst a prisoner in the Tower of London, a short time before his execution on account of his religion, accused Luther of having called the epistle of James *a book of straw*, was required to produce his authority, and not being able to discover the passage in the edition of the works of Luther brought to him for that purpose, was treated as a calumniator and a falsifier. The Protestants for some time enjoyed their triumph: "Le docte "Witaker," says Bayle, "jouit de cette agréable joie "toute sa vie. Il soutint que Luther n'avoit point parlé de "la sorte, & que Campian le calomnioit." On further inquiry it appeared, however, that there was more reason for the assertion of Campian than his opponents had supposed. Even Witaker at length confessed, that he had found an early edition of the works of Luther, which contained the expression alluded to, *Primum enim vidi quandam Lutheri præfationem antiquissimam, editam anno* 1525, *Wittembergæ, in qua Jacobi Epistolam, præ Petri ac Pauli Epistolis, stramineam vocat.* The Jesuits have in their turn considered this as a complete victory. The whole controversy is given by Bayle. *Dict. Histor. Art. Luther. note N, O.*

breadth line which he had prescribed. Without attributing to the conduct of Luther all those calamities which a diversity of religious opinions occasioned in Europe, during the greater part of the sixteenth century, and in which thousands of innocent and conscientious persons were put to death, many of them with the most horrid torments, for no other reason than a firm adherence to those doctrines which appeared to them to be true,(a) it is sufficient on the present occasion to remark the wonderful inconsistency of the human mind, which the character of Luther so strongly exemplifies. Whilst he was engaged in his opposition to the church of Rome, he asserted the right of private judgment in matters of faith with the confidence and courage of a martyr; but no sooner had he freed his followers from the chains of papal domination, than he forged others, in many respects equally intolerable, and it was the employment of his latter years, to counteract the beneficial effects produced by his former labours. The great example of freedom which he had exhibited, could not, however, be so soon forgotten, and many who had

(a) *Mosheim's Ecclesiast. Hist.* ii. 238, 239.

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had thrown off the authority of the Romish see, refused to submit their consciences to the control of a monk, who had arrogated to himself the sole right of expounding those scriptures, which he had contended were open to all. The moderation and candour of Melancthon in some degree mitigated the severity of his doctrines; but the example of Luther descended to his followers, and the uncharitable spirit evinced by the Lutheran doctors, in prescribing the articles of their faith, has often been the subject of just and severe reprehension.(a) Happy indeed had it been for mankind, had this great reformer discovered, that between perfect freedom and perfect obedience there can be no medium; that he who rejects one kind of human authority in matters of religion is not likely to submit to another; and that there cannot be a more dangerous nor a more odious encroachment

(a) "The conduct of the Lutheran doctors," says a very candid and competent judge, "in the deliberations relating "to the famous *Form of Concord*, discovered such an im- "perious and uncharitable spirit, as would have been more "consistent with the genius of the court of Rome, than with "the principles of a Protestant church." *v. Dr. Maclaine, note (c) on Mosh. Eccles. Hist.* ii, 148.

ment on the rights of an individual, than officiously and unsolicited to interfere with the sacred intercourse that subsists between him and his God.

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As the progress of literature had concurred with other causes in giving rise to the reformation; so that great event produced in its turn a striking effect on the studies and the taste of Europe. Many of the reformers, and especially Luther and Melancthon, were men of sound learning and uncommon industry; and the latter in particular, if he had not engaged in the reformation and devoted himself to theological studies, would undoubtedly have been one of the best critics and most elegant scholars of the age. In the Latin tongue, Luther was a great proficient; but his style, though expressive and masculine, has little pretensions to elegance, and appears to be better calculated for invective and abuse, than for the calm tenor of regular composition. He had a competent knowledge of the Greek, as appears by his translation of the New Testament, which he executed during his solitude in his *Patmos*, and published shortly afterwards. He also undertook the study of the Hebrew; a task of no inconsiderable difficulty; but which, however,

Effects of the reformation on literary studies.

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ever, he had the resolution to surmount. The intercourse that subsisted between him and the other reformers, particularly Zuinglius, Bucer, Reuchlin, and Hutten, and the controversies in which he engaged, as well with these, as with the supporters of the Romish church, called forth exertions beyond what the more tranquil spirit of literature could have inspired. The ancient authors began not only to be studied for the charms of their composition, but were called in as auxiliaries by the contending parties, who by affecting an intimate acquaintance with the writers of antiquity, supposed that they gave additional credit to their own cause; and the period which immediately succeeded the reformation, was that in which Europe saw the luminary of classical learning at a higher meridian than at any time either before or since. For some time the important discussions which took place, in both political and ecclesiastical concerns, afforded ample topics for the exercise of that eloquence and facility of composition, which were then so generally extended; but as the contests of the pen gave way to those of the sword, and subjects of great and general interest were neglected as useless, or prohibited as dangerous, a new style of writing arose, like a weak scion from the root of a tree

tree felled by the axe, which ill compensates by elegance of form and luxuriance of foliage, for the loss of the more majestic trunk. To this state of literature the great Lord Bacon has alluded, in what he denominates "delicate learning,"*(a)* the introduction of which he attributes to the effects of the reformation, which occasioned the "admira- "tion of ancient authors, the hate of the "schoolmen, the exact study of languages, "and the efficacy of preaching;" the four causes that, according to him, brought in "an "affectionate study of eloquence, and *copia* "of speech, which then began to flourish. "This," says he, "grew speedily to an ex- "cess; for men began to hunt more after "words than matter, and more after the "choiceness of the phrase, and the round "and clean composition of the sentence, and "the sweet falling of the clauses, and the "varying and illustration of their works with "tropes and figures, than after the weight of "matter, worth of subject, soundness of ar- "gument, life of invention, or depth of judg- "ment. Then grew the flowing and watery "vein

(a) Of the advancement of learning, *book* i. *p.* 18. 1*st edit.*

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" vein of Osorius the Portugal bishop, to be " in price; then did Sturmius spend such " infinite and curious pains upon Cicero the " orator, and Hermogenes the rhetorician, be- " sides his own books of periods, and imitation, " and the like. Then did Car of Cambridge, " and Ascham, with their lectures and writ- " ings almost deify Cicero and Demosthenes, " and allure all young men that were studious " unto that delicate and polished kind of " learning. Then did Erasmus take occasion " to make the scoffing echo, *Decem annos con-* " *sumpsi in legendo Cicerone;* and the echo " answered in Greek, ΩΝΕ, *Asine.* Then " grew the learning of the schoolmen to be " utterly despised as barbarous. In sum, the " whole inclination and bent of those times " was rather towards *copia* than weight."

Effects of the reformation on the fine arts.

Nor was the reformation of religion favourable in its consequences to the progress of the fine arts, which extending themselves from Italy, had now begun to be cultivated with great attention in other parts of Europe. The effect of this struggle was to call off the public attention from these studies as useless and insignificant, and to fix it on those more important discussions which were supposed so nearly to affect both the temporal and eternal

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nal happiness of mankind. But the injurious consequences of the reformation on the arts, were yet more direct. Before this event the Roman religion had not only relinquished its hostility to the productions of the chisel or the pencil, but had become the foster-mother of these pursuits, and supplied the noblest and most interesting subjects for the exercise of their powers. The artist whose labours were associated with the religion of his country, enjoyed a kind of sacred character, and as his compensation was generally derived from princes and pontiffs, from munificent ecclesiastics, or rich monastic institutions, the ample reward which he obtained stimulated both himself and others to further exertions. To the complete success of the artist, a favourable concurrence of extraneous circumstances is often necessary, and the mind already impressed with religious awe by the silence and solemnity of the cloister, or the cathedral, dwells with additional interest on representations already in unison with its feelings, and which exemplify in the most striking manner the objects of its highest admiration and respect. Even the opportunity afforded the artist, of a spacious repository for his productions, where they were likely to remain secure for ages,

and

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and where they might be seen with every advantage of position, were circumstances highly favourable to his success. The tendency of the reformation was to deprive him of these benefits, to exclude his productions from the place of worship, as profane or idolatrous, to compel him to seek his subjects in the colder pages of history, and his patrons among secular, and less wealthy, individuals. This effect is not, however, so much to be attributed to the opinions or the instigation of Luther himself, as to those of his over-zealous followers, who on this head went far beyond what he conceived to be either necessary or expedient. During his retreat at his *Patmos*, his disciple Carlostadt, in a paroxysm of religious enthusiasm, had ordered the images and representations of the saints in the church of Wittemberg to be destroyed; a circumstance of which Luther was no sooner informed, than he quitted his retirement without the knowledge of his patron the elector, and hastening to Wittemberg, effectually checked the further proceedings of Carlostadt and his adherents.(a) From the sentiments of Luther on this head, as expressed in various parts of his works, it appears that he conceived

(a) *Maimburg. ap. Seckend. lib.* i. *p.* 197.

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ceived such representations might be tolerated, provided they were not regarded as objects of worship; although he did not admit that there was any merit in encouraging them, and with true sectarian spirit, thought the cost of them would be better applied to the use of *the brethren.(a)* The opinion of Erasmus in this, as in other respects, was much more liberal. "They who have attacked the "images of saints," says he, "although with "immoderate zeal, have had some reason for "their conduct, for idolatry, that is, the "worship of images, is a horrible crime; "and although it be now abolished, yet the "arts of Satan are always to be guarded "against. But when we reflect that statuary "and painting, formerly regarded as liberal "arts, are a kind of silent poesy, and have "often an effect on the feelings of mankind "beyond that produced by the most accom-"plished orator, it might have been well to

 "have

(a) *Luth. ap. Seckend. lib.* ii. *p.* 25. It is a curious fact that Luther availed himself of the assistance of Luca Cranach, one of the most eminent German artists of the time, to satirize the Roman court in a set of figures representing the deeds of Christ, and of Antichrist; to which Luther himself wrote inscriptions, *v. Seckend. lib.* i. *p.* 148.

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" have corrected their superstition without " destroying their utility. I could, indeed, " wish, that the walls of all public places " were decorated with representations of the " incidents of the life of Christ, expressed " in a becoming manner. But as it was de- " creed in the council of Africa, that in " places of worship nothing should be re- " cited but the scriptural canons, so it would " be proper that no subjects should be ex- " hibited in such places, except such as the " scriptural canons supply. In the porches, " vestibules, or cloisters, other subjects might " be represented, taken from common his- " tory, so that they inculcated good morals; " but absurd, obscene, or seditious pictures " should be banished not only from churches, " but from all habitations; and as it is a kind " of blasphemy to pervert the sacred writings " to profane and wanton jests, so those paint- " ers deserve to be punished, who when they " represent subjects from the holy scriptures, " mingle with them their own improper and " ridiculous inventions. If they wish to in- " dulge their folly, let them rather seek for " their subjects in Philostratus; although the " annals of heathenism afford many lessons " which may be exhibited with great uti- " lity."

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"lity."(a) That observations so rational, and from which Luther himself would scarcely have dissented, have not been sufficient to prevent the almost total exclusion of picturesque representations from the reformed churches, is greatly to be regretted; not only as being an irreparable injury to the arts, but as depriving the people of a mode of instruction, not less calculated to interest their feelings and excite their piety, than that which is conveyed by means of speech. Whether mankind in any state of society, were ever so ignorant as to make these visible representations the actual objects of their adoration, may well be doubted; but at all events there can now be no danger of such an error in the most uninformed part of Europe; and it may yet be hoped that as the spirit of bigotry declines, religion may be allowed to avail herself of every aid which may engage her admirers, illustrate her precepts, or enforce her laws.

The effects produced by the reformation on the political and moral state of Europe, are of a much more important nature. The

(a) *Erasm. ap. Seckendorf, lib.* iii. *p.* 51.

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destruction of the authority of the Romish see, throughout many flourishing, and many rising nations, whilst it freed the monarch from the imperious interposition of an arrogant pontiff, released the people from that oppressive and undefined obedience to a foreign power, which exhausted their wealth, impeded their enjoyments, and interfered in all their domestic concerns. The abolition of the odious and absurd institutions of monastic life, by which great numbers of persons were restored to the common purposes of society, infused fresh vigour into those states which embraced the opinions of the reformers; and the restoration of the ancient and apostolic usage of the Christian church, in allowing the priesthood to marry, was a circumstance of the utmost advantage to the morals and manners of the age. To this may be added the destruction of many barbarous, absurd, and superstitious dogmas, by which the people were induced to believe that crimes could be commuted for money, and dispensations purchased even for the premeditated commission of sins.

Effects of the reformation on the political and moral state of Europe.

But perhaps the most important advantage derived from the reformation, is to be found in

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in the great example of freedom of inquiry, which was thus exhibited to the world, and which has produced an incalculable effect on the state and condition of mankind. That liberty of opinion which was at first exercised only on religious subjects, was, by a natural and unavoidable progress, soon extended to those of a political nature. Throughout many of the kingdoms of Europe, civil and religious liberty closely accompanied each other; and their inhabitants, in adopting measures which seemed to them necessary to secure eternal happiness, have at least obtained those temporal advantages, which, in many instances, have amply repaid them for their sacrifices and their labours.

That these and similar benefits were, however, in a great degree counterbalanced by the dreadful animosities to which the reformation gave rise, as well between the reformers and the adherents to the ancient discipline, as between the different denominations of the reformed churches, cannot be denied; and the annals of Europe exhibit a dreadful picture of war, desolation, and massacre, occasioned by the various struggles of the contending parties for the defence, or the establishment, of

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of their respective opinions.(a) Whoever adverts to the cruelties exercised on the Anabaptists,

(a) The violence of the first reformers is very fully admitted by a learned prelate of the church of England, who in speaking of Erasmus, says, "—for the other reformers, "such as Luther, Calvin, and their followers, understood "so little in what true Christian charity consisted, that "they carried with them into the reformed churches, "THAT VERY SPIRIT OF PERSECUTION WHICH HAD DRIVEN "THEM FROM THE CHURCH OF ROME." *Warburton's Notes on Pope's Essay on Criticism, in Pope's Works, vol.* i. *p.* 222. The annals of persecution cannot furnish a more atrocious instance of bigotry and cruelty, than the burning of Servetus, in a Protestant city and by Protestant priests. The life of this unhappy victim of ecclesiastical tyranny, was written by Henricus ab Allwoerden, at the instance of the learned Mosheim, and published at Helmstadt, in 1728. From this work, I shall give the letters written by Servetus whilst in prison; from which the reader may judge of the cruelty and injustice of his tyrannical and bigoted persecutors, the ecclesiastics and magistrates of Geneva. *v. Appendix, CXCIII.* The execution of Servetus is thus described, in a MS. history of him, cited by Allwoerden, *p.* 112. "Impositus est Servetus trunco ad terram posito, "pedibus ad terram pertingentibus, capiti imposita est co-"rona straminea, vel frondea, et ea sulphure conspersa, "corpus palo alligatum ferrea catena, collum autem tunc "fune crasso quadruplici aut quintuplici laxo; liber femori "alligatus; ipse Carnificem rogavit, ne se diu torqueret. "Interea Carnifex ignem in ejus conspectum, et deinde in "orbem admovit. Homo, viso igne, ita horrendum ex-"clamavit

baptists, the Socinians, and various other sects of Christians, who differ in some abstruse

" clamavit ut universum populum preterrefecerit. Cum diu " langueret, fuerunt ex populo, qui fasciculos confertim " conjecerunt. Ipse horrenda voce clamans, *Jesu, Fili* " *Dei æterni miserere mei.* Pos dimidiæ circiter horæ cru- " ciatum expiravit." Calvin, who was apprehensive that the death of Servetus might entitle him to the rank of a martyr, thought it necessary to defame his memory, by asserting that he had no religion; and inhumanly attributed the natural expression of his feelings on the approach of his horrible fate, to what he calls a *brutal stupidity.* " Ceterum " ne male feriati nebulones, vecordi hominis pervicacia " quasi martyrio glorientur, in ejus morte apparuit belluina " stupiditas, unde judicium facere liceret, nihil unquam serio " in religionem ipsum egisse. Ex quo mors ei denunciata " est, nunc attonito similis hærere, nunc alta suspiria edere, " nunc instar lymphatici ejulare. Quod postremum tan- " dem sic invaluit, ut tantum, hispànico more, reboaret, " *Misericordia, Misericordia.*" *Calvini Opusc. et Genev.* 1597. *ap. Allwoerden, p.* 101. What Calvin did not scruple to perform, Melancthon and Bullinger did not hesitate to approve. Thus the former addresses himself to the latter on this subject, " Legi quæ de Serveti blasphemiis respon- " distis, et pietatem ac judicia vestra probo. Judico etiam " Senatum Genevensem rectè fecisse, quod hominem perti- " nacem, et non omissurum blasphemias *sustulit;* ac *mira-* " *tus sum esse qui severitatem illam improbent.*" *v. Jortin's tracts,* 8o. *v.* i. *p.* 431. Such were the sentiments of the *mild, and candid* Melancthon, and such the *first fruits* of that *reformation,* which professed to assert the right of private judgment in matters of religion, and to enlighten and humanize mankind:

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struse or controverted points from the established churches; whoever surveys the criminal code of the Lutheran and Calvinistic nations of Europe, and observes the punishments denounced against those who may dare to dissent, although upon the sincerest conviction, from the established creed, and considers the dangers to which they are exposed in some countries, and the disabilities by which they are stigmatized and oppressed in others, must admit, that the important object which the friends and promoters of rational liberty had in view, has hitherto been but imperfectly accomplished, and that the human mind, a slave in all ages, has rather changed its master, than freed itself from its servitude.

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ERRORS incident to an early state of society —Writings of Aristotle—Rival doctrines of Plato—Commentators on the philosophy of the ancients—NICCOLO LEONICO TOMEO—PIETRO POMPONAZZO—AGOSTINO NIFO—GIOVAN-FRANCESCO PICO—*Study of natural philosophy—Attempts towards the reformation of the Kalendar—Discoveries in the East and West Indies—Papal grants of foreign parts—Consequences of the new discoveries—Humane interference of Leo X.—Study of natural history—Moral philosophy*—MATTEO BOSSO—PONTANO—*His treatise* De Principe—*His work* De obedientia *and other writings*—BALDASSARE CASTIGLIONE—*His* Libro del Cortegiano—*Novel writers*—MATTEO BANDELLO—PIETRO ARETINO.

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Errors incident to an early state of society.

IT is a striking fact that mankind, when they begin to cultivate their intellectual powers, have generally turned their first attention towards those abstruse and speculative studies, which are the most difficult of comprehension, and the most remote from their present state and condition. This is the natural result of that inexperience which is common to an early or unimproved state of society. Ignorant of that which relates to their immediate well-being, they attempt to rise into the realms of immaterial existence; or, if the laws of nature engage their notice, it is only in

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in subordination to some higher purpose. The course of the heavenly bodies would be considered as a study not deserving of their attention, were it not believed to unfold to them the secrets of futurity; and the productions of the vegetable and mineral kingdoms are disregarded, except when they are supposed to exhibit striking prodigies, or to produce miraculous effects. Hence it has been the most difficult effort of the human mind to divest itself of absurdity and of error, and to quit its sublime flights for the plain and palpable inductions of reason and common sense; and hence the due estimation of our own powers, although it be of all sciences the most important, is generally the latest acquired.

Writings of Aristotle.

In correcting these errors of early times, the ancients had made a considerable progress; but on the revival of letters, that second infancy of mankind, the powers of the human intellect were not so frequently employed on subjects of real utility, as in the investigation of the most difficult or unintelligible propositions. The writings of Aristotle, which had first been introduced through the medium of the Arabians, afforded the greatest abundance of subjects of this nature, and he therefore became

became the universal favourite. The study of his works superseded the study of nature; and as few topics were left untouched by his vigorous and enterprising genius, he was not only resorted to as the general authority on all subjects of science and of literature, but produced a considerable effect on the theological tenets of the times. The superiority and influence which, by the aid of the schoolmen, he had for so many ages maintained, were at length diminished by the rival system of Plato; and the dominion which he had so long exercised over the human intellect was now divided between him and his sublimer opponent; this circumstance may be considered rather as a compromise between the rulers, than as an alteration in the condition of those who were still destined to obey. The metaphysical doctrines of Plato were as remote from the business of real life and the simple induction of facts, as those of Aristotle. It is not, however, wholly improbable, that mankind derived some advantage from this event. In dividing their allegiance, it occasionally led them to think for themselves, and perhaps induced a suspicion, that, as in opposing systems both leaders could not be right, so it was possible that both of them might be wrong.

Rival doctrine of Plato.

This

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This divided authority was not, however, without its variations, in which each of the contending parties struggled for the ascendancy, and at the close of the fifteenth century the triumph of Platonism was almost complete. The venerable character of Bessarion, the indefatigable labours of Ficino, and the establishment of the Platonic academy at Florence under Lorenzo de' Medici, were the chief causes of this superiority. With the loss of the personal influence of these eminent men, its consequence again declined; and the doctrines of Aristotle, better understood and more sedulously inculcated by many of his learned countrymen, again took the lead. The scholars of the time devoted themselves with great earnestness to the task of translating, illustrating, or defending his writings, which now began to be freed from the visionary subtilties of the Arabian commentators, and were studied and expounded in their original language. The first native Italian who attempted this arduous task, was Niccolo Leonico Tomeo, a disciple of Demetrius Chalcondyles, and a distinguished professor of polite letters in the university of Padua, where he died in the year 1531, having taught at that place upwards of thirty years. The talents of Leonico were not, however, wholly devoted to this employment.

Commentators on the philosophy of the ancients.

Niccolo Leonico Tomeo.

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ment. He was not less acquainted with the doctrines of Plato than with those of Aristotle. He translated many philosophical works from the Greek into Latin with great elegance, and has left several treatises or dialogues, on moral and philosophical subjects,(a) although they are now no longer generally known. Some specimens of his poetry are also to be found in the collections of the times.(b) His chief merit consists in his having for a long course of years sedulously diffused the riches of ancient learning among his countrymen, and his chief honour in having numbered among his pupils many of the most eminent men of the time. The epitaph on Leonico by his friend and countryman Bembo, is an elegant

(a) Among others he published a collection of various tracts from the works of Aristotle and Theophrastus, which were printed from his copies, and published by the heirs of Filippo Giunti at Flor. 1527. In the dedication of this work to Bernardo Giunti, Leonico asserts, that he had carefully corrected and restored about two thousand passages in these treatises. *Bandin. Juntar. Typogr. Ann.* ii. 213.

(b) *Tiraboschi, Storia della Lett. Ital.* vii. i. 373. He is also mentioned by Erasmus in his Ciceronianus with great commendation. "Leonicus in adytis philosophiæ, præsertim Platonicæ, semper religiose versatus, ad Platonis ac

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elegant compendium of his literary and moral character and is highly favourable to both.*(a)*

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Another celebrated professor of philosophy at Padua, at the commencement of the sixteenth century, was Pietro Pomponazzo of Mantua, usually denominated, on account of his diminutive stature, *Peretto*. Such was the estimation in which his services were held at this university, that he was rewarded with an annual stipend of three hundred and seventy ducats;

Pietro Pomponazzo.

" ac Ciceronis dialogos effingendos sese composuit, et præstat " eloquentia tantum, quantum fas est hodie a tali philoso- " pho requirere. Ciceronianus appellari nec ipse cupiat, " ni fallor; adhuc enim superest, vir non minus integris " moribus quam eruditione reconditâ." *Ciceronian. p.* 71.

(a) This inscription, which yet remains in the church of S. Francesco, at Padua, is as follows:

" Leonico Thomæo, *Veneto, milioribus in literis pan-* " *genidisque carminibus ingenio amabili, Philosophiæ* " *vero in studiis, et Academica Peripateticaque doctrina* " *præstanti; nam et Aristotelicos libros Græco sermone* " *Patavii primus omnium docuit, scholamque illam a* " *Latinis interpretibus inculcatam perpolivit, et Platonis* " *majestatem nostris hominibus jam prope abditam re-* " *stituit; multaque præterea scripsit, multa interpretatus* " *est, multos claros viros erudiit, præter virtutem bonasque* " *artes tota in vita nullius rei appetens. Vixit autem* " *annos* lxxv. *M.* i. *D.* 27."

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ducats; yet we are told, that notwithstanding his acquaintance with the secrets of nature, with Aristotle, with Plato, with Avicenna, and with Averrhoes, he had no knowledge of either Arabic or Greek, and that he knew no more of Latin than he had acquired at school from the seventh to the twelfth year of his age.*(a)* Being compelled, with the other professors, to quit Padua during the unfortunate events of the war of Cambray, he retired in the year 1510, to Ferrara; where Alberto Pio lord of Carpi, and Celio Calcagnini, were glad to avail themselves of his instructions.*(b)* In the year 1512, he left Ferrara and took up his residence at Bologna, where he taught during the remainder of his days. At this city he died in 1524, being then sixty-two years of age.*(c)* Bandello, many of whose novels are founded on facts that happened within his own knowledge, relates, that in the year 1520,

(a) Speroni, Dialogo della Istoria. par. ii. *in op. vol.* ii. *p.* 252.

(b) Tiraboschi, Storia della Lett. Ital. vii. *par.* i. *p.* 374.

(c) His body was sent by the orders of the cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, who had been his pupil, to Mantua; where it was interred in the church of S. Francesco. A statue of bronze,

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Pomponazzo paid a visit to Modena, to be present at a public disputation held by his pupil Giovan-Francesco dal Forno, and that the orator, after having in the presence of his preceptor and of the inhabitants acquitted himself with great honour, accompanied Pomponazzo through the city, to point out to him whatever might be deserving of his attention; when the singular figure, dusky complexion, and unusual appearance of the philosopher,(a) attracted the notice of two Modenese ladies, who seeing him attended by a long train of respectable followers, mistook him for a Jew celebrating his nuptials, and expressed their desire to be of the party. The reply which the novelist has attributed to Pomponazzo, would,

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bronze, which yet remains, was there erected to his memory, in which he is represented sitting with a book open in one hand, and another closed at his feet, with the words,

Obiit an. S. MDXXIV. M. M.

Below is inscribed,

" *Mantua clara mihi genetrix fuit, et breve corpus*
" *Quod dederat natura mihi, me turba Perettum*
" *Dixit. Naturæ scrutatus sum intima cuncta.*"

(a) " Era il Peretto un omicciuolo molto picciolo, con " un viso che nel vero aveva più del Giudeo che del Chris- " tiano, e vestiva anco ad una certa foggia, che teneva più " del Rabbi che del Filosofo, et andava sempre raso e " tosto," &c. *Bandell. Nov. par.* iii. *nov.* 38.

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would, if authentic, sufficiently demonstrate that the precepts of his philosophy had not enabled him to control his passions and regulate his own temper.(a) Nor was Pomponazzo less remarkable for the peculiarity of his opinions, than for the singularity of his person, on which account his safety was frequently endangered from the persecuting spirit of the times. This, however, can occasion no surprise, when we find him asserting in some of his works, that all miracles are merely the effect of imagination, and that the care of Providence is not extended to the transitory concerns of the present world. But the chief difficulties of Pomponazzo were occasioned by his book *De Immortalitate Animæ*, in which he is said publicly to have denied the immortality of the soul. This dangerous opinion excited a host of opponents, who impugned his doctrines and threatened his person. In his defence he endeavoured to convince his adversaries that he had stated this opinion, not as his own, but as that of Aristotle, and that

(a) "Che diavolo dite voi? che diavolo è questo? Sono "forse io riputato Giudeo da voi donne Modenesi? Che "venga fuoco del cielo che tute v' arda!" &c. *Ibid.* Tiraboschi, in relating this anecdote, has unaccountably mistaken the Modenese ladies for *Jewesses. vol.* vii. *par.* i. *p.* 375.

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he had himself only asserted that the existence of a future state could not be proved by natural reason, but must be believed on the authority of the Christian church; of which he professed himself an obedient son and disciple. These explanations were of no avail. The ecclesiastics of Venice represented the book to the patriarch as being filled with the most dangerous heresies; the patriarch called in the aid of the secular power; Pomponazzo was by general consent declared a heretic and his book was condemned to the flames. Not satisfied with these proceedings, his prosecutors transmitted a copy of his book to Bembo at Rome, entreating him to obtain if possible the condemnation of its author by the authority of the holy see; but neither the secretary, nor the pontiff, were inclined to treat with severity a scholar and a philosopher, who had advanced a few bold opinions, not likely to engage the attention of many followers. Bembo read the book, and not finding it so dangerous as it was represented to be, shewed it to the master of the Apostolic palace, whose office it was to take cognizance of all publications, and who agreed with him in opinion respecting it. Pomponazzo was therefore released from the terrors of persecution, and his gratitude is perpetuated in a letter addressed

addressed to Bembo.(a) Whatever were the real opinions of this writer, it is certain that he has on many occasions treated the doctrines of Christianity with no small degree of ridicule.(b) For this conduct he has endeavoured to apologize, by alleging that he wrote only as a philosopher, and that whenever the church had decided, he submitted his judgment, and firmly believed what was proposed to him. An apology which has given occasion to Boccalini to introduce Apollo as deciding, that Pomponazzo should stand exculpated as a man, and should be burnt only as a philosopher.(c)

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Among those who distinguished themselves by

Agostino Nifo.

(a) *Tiraboschi, Storia della Lett. Ital. vol.* vii. *par.* i. *p.* 377. *in nota. Ed. Rom.* 1784.

(b) The works of Pomponazzo were collected and published the year after his death, under the following title. PETRI POMPANATII *opera omnia; sive Tractatus acutissimi de Reactione, de Intentione formarum, de Modo agendi primarum qualitatum, de Immortalitate animæ, Apologia contradict. Tractatus Defensorium. Approbationes rationum Defensorii, &c. Venetiis, Hæredes Octav. Scoti,* 1525. *in fol.* This edition de Bure informs us is rare. *Bib. Instruct. No.* 1289.

(c) *Ragguagli di Parnaso, Cent.* i. *Rag.* xc.

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by their opposition to the doctrines of Pomponazzo, was Agostino Nifo, a native of Sessa in the kingdom of Naples, and one of the learned professors who had been engaged by Leo X. to deliver instructions in the Roman academy.*(a)* Prior to the year 1500, Nifo had filled the chair of a professor at Padua, where he had imbibed the opinions of Averrhoes, and in his treatise, *De Intellectu et Demonibus*, had asserted the unity of spiritual existence, and that there is only one soul, which animates all nature. In consequence of these doctrines, he was warmly attacked by the theologians of the times, and might have experienced great vexation, had not the candid and learned Pietro Barozzi, bishop of Padua, interfered on his behalf, and afforded him an opportunity of correcting such passages in his work as were most objectionable. It was on this occasion that, as a further proof of his penitence, he wrote against the dogmas of Pomponazzo on the nature of the human soul. After having taught in various parts of Italy, and distinguished himself by the wit and vivacity with which he seasoned his instructions,*(b)* he was called

(a) v. ante, chap. xi. *vol.* ii. *p.* 332.

(b) Jovius Iscritt. p. 176.

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called to Rome in the year 1513, by Leo X. who received him into his particular favour, honoured him with the title of count Palatine, and allowed him to use the name and arms of the Medici; of which privilege he has accordingly availed himself in several of his works. The chief part of his time was employed in commenting on the remains of Aristotle; but he has also written on various subjects, political and moral.(a) Notwithstanding his sublime meditations, it appears that Nifo could at times relax from his labours, and could even condescend so far as to render himself the object

(a) In the year 1520, he published at Florence his *Dialectica Ludicra*, and in 1521, his *Libellus de his quæ ab optimis Principibus agenda sunt*; in both of which he denominates himself *Augustinus Niphus Medices, philosophus Suessanus*; and in the dedication to him of the commentary of Alexander Aphrodisiensis on some of the works of Aristotle, by Antonius Francinus Varchiensis, he is styled, *Augustinus Niphus de Medicis, Peripateticorum Princeps.* In this dedication the merits of Nifo, and the favours conferred on him by Leo X. are recognised in the following terms; "Prætereo judicii tui gravitatem, ingenii magnitudinem, "egregiam latinæ græcæque linguæ eruditionem; tum quia "hæc omnibus nota sunt, tum quia hæ tuæ laudes majori "præconio celebrandæ forent; ut jure optimo Leo Pont. "Max. acerrimus ingeniorum pensitator et judex te familiæ "suæ cognomine donatum voluerit." *Bandin. Juntar. Typog. Ann.* ii. 173.

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object of amusement and of ridicule to the cardinals and great men of the court; and perhaps this qualification was not without its effect, in obtaining for him the favour of the supreme pontiff. Even his writings are said to bear marks of the same levity which distinguished his conduct, and to afford sufficient reason to believe, that his philosophy did not always prove a sufficient restraint on those passions, the effects of which were apparent even amidst the ravages of disease and the decrepitude of old age.*(a)*

Upon

(a) On the follies and amorous propensities of Nifo in his old age, Bayle has, according to his custom, expatiated at large. That Nifo had afforded some reason for these animadversions may, however, sufficiently appear from the following not inelegant lines of one of his contemporaries.

Apagete vos, Philosophiam qui tetricam
Putatis, et boni indigam
Leporis, ebriæ horridamque Cypridis.
Quid? NIPHUS an non melleus,
Perplexa suetus inter enthymemata
Et syllogisimos frigidos
Narrare suaves, Atticasque fabulas;
Multumque risum spargere?
At quam venustum hoc; septuagenarium
Quod undulatis passibus,
Ex curioso, flexuosoque capite,
Saltare coram cerneres,

Modò

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Upon the whole, however, it is impossible to observe the industry, the learning, and the acuteness which have been displayed in these abstruse speculations, without sincerely regretting such a lamentable waste of talents and of time. For what important discoveries might the world have been indebted to the genius of Giovanni Pico of Mirandula, if instead of attempting to reconcile the opinions of Plato and of Aristotle,*(a)* he had devoted himself to those studies which are within the proper limits of the human intellect. Nor might posterity have had less cause to admire the talents, and approve the indefatigable labours of Giovan-Francesco Pico, the nephew of Giovanni, if he had not suffered himself to be led astray from the path of nature and utility by the example

Giovan-Francesco Pico.

Modò Dorium, modò Phrygium, vel Lydium;
Amore saucium gravi?
Tractare sic Philosophiam invisam, arbitror
Summi fuisse Philosophi.
Latomi, ap. Jovium in Elog.

(a) In his treatise *De Ente et Uno*, addressed by him to his friend Politiano. Of the character and writings of Pico the reader will find the most full and interesting account which has yet been given to the world, in *Mr. Creswell's Memoirs of Italian Scholars*. 2d. *Ed.* 1805.

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example of his uncle; and the inveterate prejudices of the age. When we consider the distinguished rank and important avocations of Giovan-Francesco, and the turbulence and misfortunes of his public life, we cannot but wonder at his acquirements, and at the numerous and learned productions which have issued from his pen. He was born in the year 1470, and was the son of Galeotto Pico lord of Mirandula, whom he succeeded in that government. The ambitious spirit of his brother Lodovico, who had married Francesca the daughter of the celebrated commander Giovanni Trivulzio, prompted him to aspire to the sovereignty; and in the year 1502, he, with the assistance of his father-in-law and the duke of Ferrara, deprived Giovan-Francesco of his dominions, which were held by Lodovico to the time of his death, in the year 1509.*(a)* On the capture of Mirandula by Julius II. in the year 1511, that pontiff expelled the widow and family of Lodovico, and restored Giovan-Francesco to his government;*(b)* but before he had enjoyed his authority a year, he was again driven from his capital by the French troops under

(a) v. ante, chap. viii. *vol.* ii. *p.* 105.

(b) v. ante, chap. viii. *vol.* ii. *p.* 120.

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under the command of Trivulzio. On the decline of the cause of the French in Italy, Giovan-Francesco a third time assumed the government; and by the aid of the cardinal of Gurck, then the imperial envoy in Italy, a reconciliation was effected between him and the countess Francesca, which it was expected had finally terminated their dissensions. The substantial cause of dissatisfaction still, however, remained, and each of the parties complained of the other to Leo X. who endeavoured by his influence and authority to reconcile them.(a) During the life of the pontiff and for some years afterwards, Giovan-Francesco enjoyed a state of comparative tranquillity; but the animosities which had arisen in this family were not destined to terminate, without exhibiting a horrible tragedy. In the night of the fifteenth of October, 1533, Galeotto, the son of Lodovico, entered the city of Mirandula, at the head of a chosen band of followers, and forced

(a) Leo wrote to the marquis of Mantua, and to Lautrec, governor of Milan, requesting them to interpose their authority to prevent such disgraceful dissensions. He also addressed a letter to Gian-Francesco, and another to the countess, in terms of admonition and reproof; which were tempered, however, in his letter to Gian-Francesco, by expressions of great esteem and respect for his talents and his learning. *Bembi Epist. Pont. lib.* xi. *ep.* 30, 32, 33.

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forced his way into the palace. Alarmed at the tumult, Giovan-Francesco had thrown himself on his knees before a crucifix, where he was seized upon by Galeotto, who regardless either of the ties of blood or the supplications of the venerable prince, instantly struck off his head. His eldest son Alberto experienced on this occasion a similar fate, and his wife and youngest son were shut up in prison. Such was the eventful life and such the unfortunate death of one of the most virtuous and learned men, and one of the most distinguished writers of the age.

The works of Giovan-Francesco, which he had produced thirteen years before his death, and of which he transmitted a catalogue to his friend Giraldi, exhibit an astonishing instance of the efforts of human industry. They embrace almost every department of literature and of science, and every mode of composition; poetry, theology, antiquities, natural philosophy, morals, and ascetics; letters, orations, translations from the Greek, and literary essays.(a) In many of his writings he has warmly

(a) In the year 1516 he printed at Rome his four books de

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warmly opposed the doctrines of Aristotle, and evinced an extreme admiration of Plato, to whose opinions he has not, however, on all subjects conformed. In his nine books, *De Rerum Prænotione*, he has followed the example of his uncle in exposing the impostures of judicial astrology; notwithstanding which, in his life of Savonarola, he has displayed a degree of credulity scarcely consistent with a correct and vigorous mind. Almost all the learned

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de Amore Divino, which he inscribed to Leo X. A copy in Manuscript of this work is preserved in the Laurentian Library, at the beginning of which are the family arms of the Medici richly illuminated. But his principal work is his *Examen Vanitatis Doctrinæ Gentium, et Veritatis Christianæ Disciplinæ*, printed by him at his own press at Mirandola in the year 1520, and also dedicated to Leo X.

This work is preceded by an apostolic license, in the form of an Epistle to Giovan-Francesco, in which the pontiff recognises the great merits of the celebrated Giovanni Pico, and the friendly intimacy which subsisted between him and Lorenzo the father of the pontiff; and highly commends Giovan-Francesco for imitating the example of his illustrious predecessor in the prosecution of liberal studies.

The works of Giovan-Francesco have generally been printed with those of his uncle, of which several Editions have been published at Basle, in 2 vols. folio.

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learned men of the time have held him in the highest esteem, both for his talents and his virtues. Sadoleti confesses that he knew no sovereign of the age, who united, like him, ability with moderation, religion with military skill, and an extensive knowledge in all arts and sciences with a close application to the cares of government; nor are the applauses of Giraldi and Calcagnini less honourable to his character, as a sovereign, a scholar, and a man.(a)

Study of natural philosophy.

But if the Italian scholars in the infancy of science wandered through the regions of incorporeal existence, without a system and without a guide, it might yet have been expected that they would have studied with more success, the appearances and relations of the visible world, and have applied them to some useful end. Certain, however, it is, that for a long course of ages no study was so much abused to the purposes of imposing on the credulity of mankind, as that which professes to develop the system of the universe, and

(a) *Ap. Tirab. Storia della Lett. Ital.* vii. *par.* i. *p.* 398, *&c.*

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and to explain the nature, the relations, and the motions of the heavenly bodies. Until the close of the fifteenth century, the factitious science of judicial astrology maintained its full credit in Italy. Most of the sovereigns and eminent men of that country retained a great number of astrologers in their service, and did not venture to engage in any undertaking of importance without their decision and approbation. The early attempts of the Italian scholars to investigate the real system of the universe were weak and uncertain. One of the first who undertook this task was Francesco Stabili, usually called, from the place of his birth, Cecco d'Ascoli, in his poem entitled *L'Acerba;* written early in the fourteenth century. But such a vehicle was not likely to convey much philosophical information, even if the author had been better acquainted with his subject. His opinions, which may at least pass for the opinions of the times, were, that the earth was a fixed and immoveable body in the midst of the heavens, from every part of which it was at an equal distance; and this he endeavours to demonstrate by observing, that from whatever part of the earth we view the stars, they appear to be equally bright and numerous.

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merous.*(a)* He describes the planets as revolving in their orbits round the earth, and attempts to explain the eclipses of the moon.*(b)* In accounting for the appearance of comets he conceives them to be vapours emanating from the planets; and to portend or occasion various

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(a) Dal cielo sta la terra equal lontana,
Perho la luce de le stelle mostra
E qual splendor ad ogni vista humana;
Se nel oriente, o nel mezzo, gira,
O verso in occidente ella s' è posta
Di quella forma se mostra chi la mira.

L'Acerba. lib. i. *cap.* 3.

(b) Doi cerchi sono intersecti insieme,
E quante differente dice altrui,
Ove son juncti e la dove son streme;
La prima stella gira in quel sito,
E'l sole a l'altro è opposito a lui,
Quando il suo corpo è di splendor finito.
E de le doe stelle nel mezo è la terra;
Per qual la luna lo raggio non vede,
Che nel suo corpo l'ombra se disfera.
Sempre non tutta questa stella oscura,
Si come nostra vista ne fa fede;
Ch' in parte more al tempo sua figura.

L'Acerba. lib. i. *cap.* 4.

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ous calamities to the human race.(a) But these inquiries occupy only the first part of his work, which is divided into five books, and comprises numerous subjects of natural and moral philosophy. The style of this writer is so rude and barbarous, as sometimes to be scarcely intelligible; a circumstance which reflects additional honour on the superior genius of Dante, of whom Cecco was the contemporary, and over whom he affects to triumph in having devoted his writings to the investigation of truth, whilst Dante employed himself in composing fabulous narrations;(b) representing the great Florentine as

(a) *L'Acerba, lib.* i. *cap.* 5.

(b) Quì non si canta al modo del Poeta
Che finge imaginando cose vane,
Ma quì risplende è luce ogni natura,
Che a chi intende fa la menta lieta.
Quì non si sognia per la selva scura,
Quì non vego Pauolo ne Francesca,
De li Manfredi non vego Alberigo,
Che de lì amari frutti nella dolcie escha.
Dal Mastino novo & vecchio da Veruchio,
Che fece de Montagnia quì non dico;
Ne de' Franceschi lor sanguignio muchio.
Non vego 'l Conte che per ira & asto
Ten forte l' Arcivescovo Ruggiero
Prendendo de suo cieffo el fiero pasto.

Non

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as having at length lost his way and taken up his final residence in his own *Inferno.(a)* These faint attempts to discuss with freedom subjects which were supposed to have been sufficiently explained in holy writ, were however observed with great jealousy by the persecuting bigots of the age, and the author of the *Acerba*, being accused of heresy and magic, expiated his temerity in the flames.*(b)* In the early part of the fifteenth century, another poem was written by Gregorio Dati of Florence, entitled

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Non vego qui squatrare a Dio le fiche.
Lasso le ciancie e torno su nel vero, &c.
L'Acerba. lib. v. *cap.* 13.

(a) Ne gli altri regni dove andò col duca,
Fondando gli soi piè nel basso centro,
La lo condusse la soa fede poca,
E soi camin non fece mai ritorno;
Che'l suo desio lui sempre tien dentro.
De lui mi duol per suo parlar adorno.

(b) He was burnt by the sentence of the inquisition at Florence, in the year 1327. An ancient MS. copy of the proceedings against him, with his sentence, is in my possession; but I have not had an opportunity of comparing them with those published by Lami, in his catalogue of the Riccardi library.

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entitled *La Sfera;(a)* which led the way to more successful attempts. About the year 1468, Paolo Toscanelli, erected the great gnomon in the cathedral of Florence, and thereby gave a decisive proof of the proficiency which he had made in mathematical and astronomical science. It appears from the evidence of Cristoforo Landino, in his commentary on Virgil, that Toscanelli had also applied himself with great diligence to the study of geography. His conjectures on the discovery of a passage by sea to the East Indies were communicated in several letters, to Fernando Martinez canon of Lisbon, and to the fortunate navigator Cristoforo Colombo.*(b)* He also transmitted

(a) Of this poem, several editions are cited by Quadrio. *Storia d' ogni Poesia. vol.* iv. *p.* 41. I have also a MS. copy of the fifteenth century, ornamented with astronomical and geographical figures coloured, explaining the system of the heavens, the signs of the zodiac, the divisions of the earth, &c.

(b) From these letters it appears, that Colombo had imparted his intentions as early as the year 1474, to Toscanelli, who had encouraged him to proceed in his enterprise, and furnished him with such instructions, both historical and geographical, as seemed most likely to ensure his success. These

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a chart of navigation to the latter; who was probably indebted to the suggestions of Toscanelli, for no small share of his subsequent success. Towards the close of the fifteenth century, the learned Pontano undertook to illustrate the science of astronomy, both in prose and verse; in the former by his fourteen books *De Rebus Cœlestibus*, in the latter by his five books entitled *Urania, sive de stellis*, and in his book *Meteororum;* but although he has displayed much acuteness in the one, and much elegance in the other of these works, yet he has done little towards the real promotion of the science: his chief object having been to ascertain the effects produced by the heavenly bodies upon the earth and its inhabitants. The celebrated Fracastoro devoted a considerable portion of his time to astronomical studies, as appears from his treatise entitled *Homo Centricus;* and Celio Calcagnini of Ferrara wrote and published a work in Italian, before the system of Copernicus issued from the press in 1543, by which he undertook to prove the motion

These letters have been published in the life of Cristoforo, by Ferdinand Colombo, and are particularly stated by Tiraboschi. *Storia della Lett. Ital.* vi. *par.* i. *p.* 179, 309.

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motion of the earth.(a) These laudable attempts at improvement are not, however, to be considered as detracting from the glory of that eminent and successful philosopher, who is justly rewarded for his labours, in having his name inseparably united with that true system of the universe, which he was the first to develop and explain.

Attempts towards the reformation of the calendar.

To the reformation of the calendar Leo X. paid great attention, and endeavoured to accomplish that desirable object by every effort in his power. One of the first persons who ventured to point out the errors in the common mode of computation, was an ecclesiastic named Giovanni di Novara, or *Johannes Novariensis*, who presented to Julius II. a book on that subject, in which he also proposed a mode of correcting them. As this was treated as a theological inquiry, the professed object of the philosopher being to ascertain the precise time for the due observance of Easter, Julius listened to his representations, and invited him to remain and pursue his studies at Rome, promising that further measures

(a) "*Quod cœlum stet, terra autem moveatur.*" *v. Tiraboschi, Storia della Lett. Ital.* vii. i. 427.

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measures should be taken for carrying his proposal into effect. After the death of Julius, Leo undertook the task, and particularly recommended to the ecclesiastics assembled in the council of the Lateran, to attend to the correction of the tables then in general use. He also addressed himself in earnest terms to the principals and directors of the Italian academies, and to many learned individuals, entreating them to consider this important subject, and to transmit to him in their writings the result of their observations and researches.*(a)* In consequence of these measures several works were produced, which at least prepared the way for more effectual efforts. Paul of Middleburg, bishop of Fossombrone, presented to the pontiff a treatise *De recta Paschæ celebratione*, in twenty-three books, for the printing and publishing of which Leo granted him an exclusive privilege.*(b)* Basilio Lapi a Cistercian monk, dedicated

(a) Leo wrote to Henry VIII. requesting that he would employ his professors of Astrology and Theology, to take the subject into their consideration. *v. App. No. CXCIV.*

(b) Fabron. in vita Leon. x. *p.* 275. This work was printed at Fossombrone *(Foro Semproniensis)* in 1513. *in fo.*

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dedicated to him a work, *De Ætatum computatione et Dierum anticipatione;* a manuscript copy of which yet exists in the Nani library at Venice;*(a)* and in the Laurentian library at Florence is preserved a Latin tract of Antonius Dulciatus *De Kalendarii correctione*, also inscribed by the author to Leo X.*(b)* The

(a) Basilio was also the author of another work, *De varietate Temporum.* He was a native of Florence, and had been a pupil of Vespucci. Of the object of the work addressed to Leo X. some idea may be formed from the following extract. "Itaque ne totius Ecclesiæ solemnia permutentur, Cæsarem Augustum imitemur, et eum in sæculi intercalatione nostris viribus amplexemur; et sic non turbabitur orbis, nec ullum Ecclesiæ ordinem intempestivè corrumpere est. Cum autem de hac temporis anticipatione inter omnes fere homines disceptatio habeatur, ut omnes hos dies in uno anno sua intercapedine consumas, et hujus temporis simul in ultimo mensis observes, 28 die Februarii, vel ut melius eloquar, in die Sancti Matthiæ, videlicet 28. ejusdem mensis, quando bissextus habetur, septimum diem Martii nomines, et dies tunc statos accipies, et æquinoctii tempus in 22. Martii eum suis veniet fractionibus." *Morelli. Biblioth. Nanian. Cod. Lat. No.* lxvii. *p.* 74.

(b) This work consists of xxv. propositions, of which the first six are lost or mutilated. In page 49, the author thus addresses the pontiff; "Hæc sunt, Beatissime Pater, quæ

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The early death of the pontiff prevented, in all probability, the further progress of these inquiries, and it was not until the pontificate of Gregory XIII. in the year 1582, that the reformation of the calendar was carried into full effect and adopted throughout the catholic countries of Europe.

Discoveries in the East and West Indies.

The proficiency made in geographical and astronomical studies, prior to and during the pontificate of Leo X. is not, however, so much to

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"quæ ad tuam Sanctitatem scribenda occurrerunt, quorum "omnium te arbitrum, et judicem exquirimus, cujus est "ea quæ nostræ sunt fidei declarare; in quibus si defeci- "mus, tu pro tua clementia, veniam dabis. Non enim ut "aliquem carperemus, vel quia nos aliquid esse putemus, "cum nihil simus, talia scripsimus, sed ut boni verique "consulerenius, et nostris sententiis expositis, per Sanctæ "Synodi Lateranensis discussionem, an recte vel ne sentia- "mus, intelligeremus, nostramque in tuam S. servitutem, "hoc nostro opusculo manifestaremus, quam omnipotens "Deus diu felicem conservet. Nec mirabitur Tua Sancti- "tas, si qua in eo offenderit, dissona his quæ in opere præ- "fato de Festis Mobilibus diximus, sed meminerit anti- "quam consuetudinem Ecclesiæ ibi nos fuisse sequutos; "hoc vero novæ reformationis Kalendarii formam insinuare "voluisse. Florentiæ apud Sanctum Gallum Idibus De- "cembris anno Dominicæ Resurrectionis 1514." *Bandini, Catal. Bib. Laurent. tom.* ii. *p.* 31.

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to be collected from the written documents of the times, as from the great practical uses to which those studies were applied. That the researches of the early navigators were instigated and promoted by many of the most eminent scholars of the times, appears from undoubted evidence. The assistance thus afforded to these daring adventurers was, however, amply repaid. By the successful result of their labours, the form of the globe and the revolutions of the heavenly bodies were more decidedly ascertained. Nor can it be doubted, that their experience first served to establish that more correct system of the universe, which has since been fully demonstrated. These discoveries gave rise, however, to many extravagant ideas, which afford a striking proof of the credulity of the age. It is asserted by Monaldeschi, that the kingdom of Peru required a whole year to traverse it from one extremity to the other; and that New Spain was at least twice the size of Peru.(a) Bembo, in his history of Venice, has also expatiated on the productions of the new world, and on the persons and

(a) *Comment. Istorica. Ven.* 1581.

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and customs of the inhabitants, with a mixture of truth and fiction highly amusing.(a) The success which attended the expeditions to the eastern world, was no small cause of anxiety to the Venetians, who foresaw in the new intercourse to which they would undoubtedly give rise, the destruction of that commerce which the republic had so long monopolized; but although the states of Italy derived fewer advantages from these discoveries than any other country in Europe, yet it is observable, that the persons by whose courage, skill, and perseverance, they were made, were principally Italians. Cristoforo Colombo was a native of Genoa; Amerigo Vespucci, who contended with him for the honour of having been the first to touch that new continent which is yet designated by his name, was a Florentine; Giovanni Verazzini, to whose efforts the French were so much indebted for their foreign possessions, was of the same country; and John and Sebastian Cabot, who under the reigns of Henry VII. Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, rendered such important

(a) *Dell' Istoria Veneta, lib.* vi. *In op. vol.* i. *p.* 138, *et seq.*

important services to the English crown, were of Venetian origin. CHAP. XX.

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From the earliest attempts at discovery, the Roman pontiffs had interested themselves with great earnestness in the result; and no sooner had these efforts proved successful, than they converted them to the purpose of extending the credit and authority of the holy see. A plausible pretext for this interference was found in the promised universality of the church of Christ, and the duty consequently incumbent on the supreme pontiff to watch over the souls of all mankind. It was upon this principle that Eugenius IV. had made a formal grant to the Portuguese of all the countries extending from Cape Naon on the continent of Africa to the East Indies. This grant had been confirmed or extended by the subsequent bulls of Nicholas V. and Sixtus IV. The dissensions which arose between Ferdinand king of Spain and John king of Portugal, respecting the right of occupying the countries newly discovered, were submitted to the decision of Alexander VI. who, as is well known, with a boldness peculiar to his character, directed that the globe of the earth should be divided by an imaginary line, extending from north to south, and

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and passing one hundred leagues to the west of the Azores and Cape Verd islands; that whatever lands were discovered on the eastern side of this line should belong to the king of Portugal, and those on the west to the king of Spain.*(a)*

It has already been noticed, that in the year 1514, Leo X. made also a formal concession to Emanuel king of Portugal; extending not only to all countries which were then discovered, but to such as were even unknown to the pontiff himself.*(b)* The Roman see having thus acquired an acknowledged jurisdiction, began to assume over the new world the same authority that it had long exercised over the old; and the grants thus made were accompanied with conditions that the sovereigns should send out priests to convert the natives to Christianity. These grants, absurd and futile as they may now appear, were not

(a) "Questa Bolla che va inserita nel Codice Diplomatico di Leibnitz, a pag. 472, viene impugnata da molti e gravi scrittori, ed in specie dal celebre Ugone Grozio, nel suo trattato intilolato *Mare liberum.*" *Bandin, Vita di Amerigo Vespucci, p.* 40. *Flor.* 1745.

(b) v. ante, chap. xii. *vol.* ii. *p.* 411.

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not without their effects, whether beneficial or injurious to mankind. From the respect paid by the sovereigns of Europe to the apostolic see, they might prevent, in some instances, that interference of different nations in foreign parts, which in all probability might have given rise to violent and destructive wars and defeated the common object of both parties. At the same time, the commanders employed in these expeditions, engaged in them with a thorough conviction, that in seizing on a newly discovered country and subjugating its inhabitants, they were only vindicating the rights of their sovereign and extending the jurisdiction of the holy Roman church.*(a)*

Consequences of the new discoveries.

The exultation which these discoveries occasioned throughout Europe, is supposed to have been of the most just and allowable kind. The extension of the bonds of society to distant nations and people before unknown; the important additions to the conveniences and the luxuries of life, and the great

(a) v. The proclamation of Alonso do Ojeda, translated by Robertson in his History of America, vol. i. note xxxiii.

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great influx of riches which Europe was to experience, all seem to entitle it to the denomination of one of the happiest, as well as one of the most important events in the history of the world. Whether an impartial estimate would confirm this opinion, may perhaps be doubted. In the decision of this question two parties are concerned; the native inhabitants of the newly discovered countries, and their European invaders. To the former the visitation of a pestilence which sweeps whole nations from the earth, was not more dreadful than the arrival of their Spanish conquerors; and the dispirited remnant of an unoffending and unwarlike people, was destined to a gradual but sure extirpation by a long and hopeless series of labour and of suffering. The history of the discovery of America, is in fact that of the destruction of its population, and of the usurpation of its territory by a foreign power.(a) On the other

(a) Las Casas has therefore entitled his work with strict propriety, *The History of the Destruction of the Indies.* "Relacion de la Destruycion de las Indias," from the introduction to this most dreadful and affecting history, which was translated into Italian by Giacomo Castellani, and published at Venice in 1643, I shall only give the following passage.

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other hand, what are the advantages which Europe has hitherto derived from this intercourse? Had the people of these distant shores any new information in science, in politics, in morals, or in arts, to impart to us? Has the communication between the two countries given rise to situations which have called into action those generous propensities and virtuous qualities, on which alone are founded the dignity and happiness of the human race? Or has it not given us, on the contrary, a new representation of the deformity of our nature, so horrid and so disgusting, that experience alone could have convinced us of its reality? The nations of Europe, instead of being tranquillized by prosperity or enriched by a new influx of wealth, have from that period either sunk into a debilitating

passage. "I positively and truly assert, that within the "space of forty years, there have unjustly and tyrannically "perished, by the oppression and infernal conduct of the "*Christians*, more than TWELVE MILLIONS of persons, "men, women, and children; and I believe that I am not "mistaken in asserting, that there are more than FIFTEEN "MILLIONS." It is to be hoped, for the credit of human nature, that Robertson is right in asserting, that the accounts of Las Casas are not to be implicitly believed, especially when he speaks of numbers.

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ing indolence, or been roused to action by dissensions, to which these discoveries have afforded new causes, and by which even the indignant manes of the slaughtered Indians might well be appeased. If we seek for more consolatory views, we must turn towards a new people, who have risen upon these ruins, where we may discern the origin of a mighty empire, destined, perhaps, to be the last refuge of freedom, and to carry to higher degrees of excellence those arts and sciences which it has received from the exhausted climes of Europe.

Humane interference of Leo X.

If, however, the spirit of ecclesiastical domination conspired with the lust of ambition, in extending the conquests of the maritime nations of Europe, it must be remembered, to the credit of the Roman church, that the first persons who opposed themselves to the atrocities committed on the unoffending natives, were the missionaries of the different orders of monks, who had been sent for the purpose of preaching among them the Christian faith. In this generous undertaking the Dominicans took the lead. The horrible practice of seizing upon the persons of the native Americans, and distributing them in proportionate numbers among the new settlers,

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lers, to be held in perpetual slavery, was represented by the monks of this fraternity as wholly inconsistent with the mild spirit of Christianity and subversive of the great object of their own mission.(a) The Franciscans, without attempting to justify these enormities to their full extent, opposed themselves to the benevolent views of the Dominicans. Their dissensions soon reached Europe, and the supreme pontiff was resorted to for his decision on this novel and important subject. His sentence confers honour on his memory. He declared that not only religion, but nature herself, cried out against slavery.(b) He observed with equal justice and benevolence, that the only mode by which civilization and religious improvement could be extended, was by the adoption of mild and equitable measures;(c) and he employed his utmost endeavours to prevail on Ferdinand of Spain to

 repress

(a) *Robertson's Hist. of America, book* iii. *vol.* i. *p.* 214, *&c.*

(b) "Requisitus sententiam Pontifex judicavit non "modo religionem, sed etiam naturam reclamitare servi-"tuti." *Fabron. in vita Leon.* x. *p.* 227.

(c) *Fabron. ut sup.*

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repress the avarice and ferocity of the new settlers, in the countries subjected to his authority.(a) On this occasion the humane and indefatigable ecclesiastic Bartolommeo de las Casas made the most strenuous and persevering efforts for the relief of the unhappy objects of colonial oppression; but the errors of good men are sometimes more fatal to the happiness of mankind than the crimes of the wicked; and the expedient which he proposed, of alleviating the distresses of the Americans by enslaving and transporting the natives of Africa, has given rise to still greater calamities than those which it was intended to remedy. After the lapse of nearly three centuries, some efforts have been made to remove this reproach, which if successful, would have displayed the greatest triumph of virtuous principle ever yet exhibited to the world. But the guilt of so many ages is not likely to be expiated by repentance; and the course of Providence seems too plainly to indicate, that a practice begun in rapacity and injustice, can only

(a) "Egitque cum Ferdinando Hispanorum Rege, ut "ne quid inhumane, ne quid injuste iis in regionibus colo. "norum avaritia fieri pateretur." *Fabron. ut sup.*

only terminate in revenge, in horrors, and in blood.

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If, however, the benefits that might have been derived from the great events before referred to, have in general been either neglected, or perverted to the most injurious purposes, yet the discoveries made both in the eastern and western world, opened a new field of speculation and instruction, which has been cultivated by the labours of succeeding times to a high degree of perfection. Besides the general knowledge of the globe, which was thus obtained, it is certain that the great diversity of animal, vegetable, and mineral productions, observed in regions so remote from each other, and distinguished by such a variety of temperature, of soil, and of climate, excited the desire of examining their nature, their qualities, or their effects. The progress of these studies was not, however, rapid. The only motive by which the early navigators were actuated, was the desire of gain. Gold in its natural state was the universal object of their inquiry. Where this could not be obtained, other articles were sought for, which might be converted to the greatest profit; and the most beautiful, or the most surprising productions of nature, were

Study of natural history.

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regarded only as they might be converted into advantageous objects of merchandise. The study of nature in her animal and vegetable kingdoms, although of all others the most obvious and simple, seems to have been one of the last which in the rise of learning attracted the attention of mankind. After all the researches that have been made on this subject, it is yet probable that the garden of Lorenzo de' Medici at Careggi, affords the earliest instance of a collection of plants extending beyond the mere object of common utility. From several passages in the works of Pontano we may, however, discover, that this author devoted himself to the practical study of nature; and his poem in two books on the cultivation of the lemon, the orange, and the citron, entitled *De Hortis Hesperidum*, sufficiently demonstrates that he was acquainted with some of the most curious operations in horticulture.*(a)* A more striking indication

(a) Among other observations in the works of Pontano, there is one which particularly deserves the attention of the practical gardener. He asserts, on his own experience, that if a graft be cut from the extremity of a fruit-bearing branch, it will itself bear fruit the first year of its being ingrafted; but that if it be taken from a sucker, or unripe part of the tree, it will e many years before it bear fruit. His word

tion of a rising taste for these occupations, appears in the estimation in which the works of the ancients who have treated on these subjects now began to be held. The writings of Theophrastus and Dioscorides had been translated into Latin, and published before the close of the fifteenth century. Of the latter, a new and more correct version was completed by the learned Marcello Virgilio Adriani, and published at Florence in the year 1518. Besides the various editions of the natural history of Pliny, which in the infancy of the art of printing had issued from the press, and the illustrations on that work by Ermolao Barbaro, Niccolo Leoniceno, and others, it was translated into Italian by Cristoforo Landino of Florence and published at Venice, in the year 1476. The decided propensity which now appeared towards the cultivation of natural history, was further increased by the extension of the theatre on which it had to expatiate; and the singular productions of foreign

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words are, " Quippe ubi e ramo frugifero, atque ad solem " exposito, ex ipsoque rami acumine lecti fuerint, etiam " primo insitionis anno frugem proferunt." *Pontan. op. vol.* ii. *p.* 180. This has since been observed by other naturalists, and the reason is explained by Dr. Darwin, in his *Phytologia, Sect.* ix. ii. 7, 156.

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foreign countries, by exciting the curiosity of the European students, led them to examine those of their own with an intelligent and a discriminating eye. It was not, however, until nearly the middle of the sixteenth century, when the commentaries of Pier-Andrea Mattioli on the six books of Dioscorides were first published, that the science of Botany began to assume a distinct form, and to be studied as a separate and interesting branch of natural knowledge. Still more recent has been the attention paid to the other departments of natural history. If we except the small tract of Paullus Jovius *De Piscibus Romanis*, published in the year 1524,(a) and a few other detached and unimportant treatises, we shall find no attempt made to investigate the history

(a). In folio, and reprinted in 1527, 8vo. This work Jovius dedicated to the cardinal Louis, of Bourbon, who deluded his expectations of a great reward, by presenting him with an imaginary benefice in the island of Thule, beyond the Orkneys. "La fatica de' Pesci," says he, "m'andò vota col Cardinal de Borbone, al qual dedicai il "libro, rimunerandomi esso con un beneficio fabuloso si- "tuato nell' Isola *Tile*, oltre le *Orcadi*." *Lettera di Giovio a M. Galeaz. Florimonte*, ap. *Tirab.* vii. 2. 20. With this malicious sarcasm, the cardinal seems to have reproved Jovius for quitting his theological studies to write the treatise inscribed to him.

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ry of animated nature, and to reduce the science of zoology to a general system, until the time of Gessner and of Aldrovando; the former of whom in Switzerland and the latter in Italy, devoted their talents at the same period to this important task, and by their elaborate works laid those broad foundations, which have served to support the extensive and still increasing superstructure of subsequent times.(a)

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Nor had the science of ethics, that most important branch of knowledge, hitherto received that attention which its intimate connexion with the concerns of human life indisputably demands. Some occasional parts of the writings of Petrarca, and several of the treatises and dialogues of Poggio Bracciolini, may be considered among the earliest and most successful attempts to illustrate the principles of moral conduct, and to regulate the intercourse of society Before the close of the

Moral philosophy.

Matteo Bosso.

(a) A particular account of the rise of the science of natural history, and of its progress to the present time, may be found in Dr. Smith's introductory Discourse, prefixed to the first vol. of the Transactions of the Linnean Society. *Lond.* 1791. 4to.

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the fifteenth century, Matteo Bosso, principal of the monastery of Fiesole, had also undertaken to recommend and to enforce various branches of moral duty in separate Latin treatises, written with great apparent sincerity, and not without pretensions to perspicuity and to elegance.(a) It may indeed be admitted as a characteristic of a vigorous and an independent mind, that at a time when theological subtilties and scholastic paradoxes had so deeply entangled the human faculties this venerable ecclesiastic could free himself from their bonds, so as to observe with a distinct and penetrating eye, the relations and connexions of human life, and to apply to their regulation the dictates of sound reason and the precepts of genuine religion. A more

Pontano.

(a) For some account of him, *v. ante, chap.* i. *vol.* i. *p.* 51. *Life of Lor. de' Medici, vol.* ii. *p.* 160. *4to ed.* His moral works are published under the following titles:

De veris ac salutaribus animi gaudiis. Flor. MCCCCLXXXXI.
De instituendo sapientia animo. Bonon. MCCCCLXXXXV.
De tolerandis adversis. lib. ii.
De gerendo magistratu, justitiaque colenda.

The two last tracts are published in the general collection of the works of their author, *Argentor.* 1509. *et Flor.* 1513.

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more powerful and more successful effort was made by the celebrated Pontano, whose prose works consist chiefly of treatises on the various branches of moral duty; some of which, as applying more generally to the concerns of states and of princes, may be considered as illustrating the science of politics; whilst others, relating to individual conduct, are intended to define the duties of private life. Under the former head may be classed his treatise *De Principe*, addressed to Alfonso duke of Calabria, in which he has attempted to define and exemplify the duties and conduct of a sovereign. This piece, written upwards of twenty years before the treatise of Machiavelli under the same title, and on the same subject, is greatly to be preferred to it for the sound maxims of policy which it professes to inculcate, and the noble examples which it holds up for future imitation. The great distinction between these productions is, that in the work of Pontano politics are considered as a most important branch of morals, whilst in that of Machiavelli they appear to be merely an artifice employed to accomplish some immediate end, which is frequently most injurious to him who obtains it. "He who wishes to govern well," says Pontano, "should propose to himself liberality and clemency

His treatise *De Principe.*

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" clemency as the first rules of his conduct. " By the former he will convert his enemies " into friends, and even recall the treacherous " to fidelity. The latter will secure to him " the affection of all men, who will venerate " him as a divinity. United in a sovereign " they render him indeed most like to God, " whose attribute it is to do good to all, and " to spare those who fall into error."(a) * * * * " It is not, however, of so much " importance to be esteemed even humane " and liberal, as it is to avoid those vices " which are considered as their opposites. " An inordinate desire to obtain that which " belongs, and is dear to others, is, in a " sovereign, the origin of great calamities. " Hence arise proscriptions, exiles, torments, " executions; and hence too it is often truly " said,

" Ad generum Cereris, sine cæde et vulnere pauci
" Descendunt Reges, et sicca morte Tyranni."

Few are the tyrant-homicides that go
Unpierced and bloodless to the realms below.

" What

(a) *Pontan. de Principe. in ejusd. op. tom. i. p.* 87.

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"What indeed can be more absurd in a "sovereign, or less conducive to his own "safety, than instead of displaying an exam- "ple of humanity, to shew himself severe and "arrogant. Inhumanity is the mother of ha- "tred, as haughtiness is of cruelty, and both "of them are bad protectors either of life or "of authority."(a) These maxims he confirms by numerous examples from ancient and modern times, which shew the extent of his acquirements, and greatly enliven his work. But the strongest instance that history affords of the truth of these maxims, is perhaps to be found in that of Alfonso himself, to whom they were so ineffectually addressed.(b)

His work, *De Obedientia* and other writings.

Of the other pieces of Pontano, one of the most extensive and important, is his treatise *De Obedientia*, in five books; under which title he has comprehended no inconsiderable portion of the system of moral duty.(c) In the

(a) *Pontan. de Principe. in ejusd. op. tom. i. p.* 91.

(b) *v. ante, chap.* iv. *vol.* i. *p.* 293.

(c) First published at Naples, in a well printed and elegant edition, 4°. and dedicated by the author to Roberto Sanseverino, Prince of Salerno. At the close we read, JOANNIS JOVIANI

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the commencement of this work he observes, that "the efforts of both ancient and modern "philosophy, as well as of both divine and "human law, are chiefly directed to compel "the passions of the mind to submit to the "dictates of reason, and to prevent them from "breaking loose and wandering without a "guide." Under this extensive idea of obedience, he takes occasion to treat on the chief duties of life, as justice, prudence, firmness, and temperance; continually intermixing his precepts with examples, many of which, being the result of his own observations, have preserved a great number of historical and literary anecdotes, not elsewhere to be found. Besides these works, Pontano produced several others on various topics connected with moral conduct, which he has illustrated in a similar manner.*(a)* These writings of Pontano display great reflection, learning, and experience; and if the severity of his judgment had been equal to the fertility of his genius, and had been suffered to exert itself in correcting those superfluities

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JOVIANI PONTANI DE OBEDIENTIA OPUS FINIT FELICITER. IMPRESSUM NEAPOLI PER MATHIAM MORAVUM ANNO SALUTIS DOMINICAE M.CCCC.LXXXX. DIE XXV. OCTOBRIS.

(a) v. ante, chap. ii. *vol* i. *p.* 79. *&c.*

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fluitie swith which his works sometimes abound, he would have merited a rank in this most important department of science, to which very few writers either of ancient or modern times could justly have aspired. It might have been expected that his example would have prepared the way to a further proficiency in these studies, especially as he had divested them of the scholastic shackles in which they had been involved, and had directed them to the great objects of practical utility; but amidst the convulsions of war and the dissipations of domestic life, his works were probably neglected or forgotten; and it is certain at least, that the age in which he lived produced no moral writer of equal industry or of equal merit. The professors of Rome, of Padua, and other Italian academies, thought it sufficient to confine their comments to the works of Aristotle; and for some time afterwards, the treatise of Cicero *De Officiis*, instead of being considered as a model of imitation, was regarded as an object of criticism and of reproof.(a)

With

(a) "Ardò (Celio Calcagnini) di parlare con qualche "disprezzo di Cicerone, facendo una critica de' libri degli "*Uffici*," &c. *v. Tirab. vol.* vii. *par.* ii. *p.* 236.

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With respect, however, to the regulation of individual intercourse by the rules of civility and good breeding, which may be reckoned among the minor duties of society, a work of extraordinary merit was written in the time of Leo X. This is the *Libro del Cortegiano*, of the count Baldassare Castiglione, who has before occurred to our notice; but a more particular account of so accomplished a nobleman and so elegant a scholar, who shared in an eminent degree the esteem of Leo X. cannot be uninteresting. He was born at his family villa of Casatico, in the territory of Mantua, in the year 1478, and was the son of the count Cristoforo Castiglione by his wife Louisa Gonzaga, a near relation of the sovereign family of that name.(a) In his early years he was sent to Milan, where he was instructed in the Latin language by Giorgio Merula and in Greek by Demetrius Chalcondyles. Having there distinguished himself by his personal accomplishments, and particularly by his skill in horsemanship and arms, he entered into the military service of Lodovico Sforza, without, however,

Castiglione.

(a) *Serassi, Vita del Conte Baldassare Castiglione, in fronte al suo libro del Cortegiano. Ediz. di Comino, Padova, 1766. p. 9.*

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however, relinquishing his literary pursuits, in which he derived assistance from Filippo Beroaldo the elder. With him he devoted a great part of his time to the study of the ancient authors, on whose works he committed to writing many learned notes and observations. His principal favourites were Cicero, Virgil, and Tibullus. Nor did he neglect the distinguished writers of his own country; among whom he is said particularly to have admired the energy and learning of Dante, the softness and elegance of Petrarca, and the facility and natural expression of Lorenzo de' Medici, and of Politiano *(a)*.

The death of his father, which was occasioned by a wound received at the battle of the Taro, and the subsequent overthrow of Lodovico Sforza, having induced Castiglione to leave Milan, he resorted to his relation Francesco marquis of Mantua whom he accompanied to Naples, where he was present at the battle of the Gariglione, in the year 1503. With the consent of the marquis, he soon afterwards paid a visit to Rome, where he was introduced by his intimate friend and relation Cesare Gonzaga

(a) Serassi, vita del Castiglione. p. 10.

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Gonzaga to Guidubaldo da Montefeltro, duke of Urbino, who had been called to Rome in consequence of the elevation of Julius II. to the pontificate. Attracted by the liberality and elegance of manners which distinguished the duke and the gentlemen of his court, Castiglione entered into his service, to the great dissatisfaction of the marquis of Mantua, and accompanied him to the siege of Cesena, which place was then held for Cæsar Borgia, but which, together with the city of Imola, soon afterwards surrendered to the besiegers. By the fall of his horse Castiglione here received a severe injury in his foot, which rendered it necessary that he should enjoy some repose; and he accordingly retired to Urbino, where he met with a most gracious reception from the duchess, and from Madonna Emilia Pia, with whom he ever afterwards maintained a friendly intercourse, rendered more interesting and not less honourable by difference of sex.*(a)* In the tranquillity which he here enjoyed, he again devoted himself to his studies, or occasionally took a distinguished part in the conversation of the many eminent and learned men who resided at that court, and were admitted

(a) v. ante, chap. vii. vol. ii. p. 21.

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mitted to the literary assemblies of the duchess. In particular he formed a strict intimacy with Giuliano de' Medici, whom he has introduced as one of the principal characters in his *Cortegiano*, the æra of which work is assigned to this period. Such was the friendship between them, that Giuliano had negotiated a marriage between his niece Clarice, the daughter of Piero de' Medici, and Castiglione; but political motives induced her friends to dispose of her in marriage to Filippo Strozzi, through the powerful influence of whose family in Florence they hoped to regain their native place.*(a)* Castiglione continued in the service of the duke until the death of that learned and accomplished prince, in the year 1508; having represented him in several embassies to foreign powers, and particularly in the year 1506, when he came to England to be installed as a knight of the garter, in the name of the duke, upon whom that honour had been conferred by Henry VII.*(b)*

(a) Serassi, vita del Castiglione, p. 14.

(b) M. Ant. Flaminio has applied to Castiglione the following lines:

" Rex quoque te simili complexus amore Britannus,
" Insignem clari TORQUIS honore facit:"

which

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After the death of the duke, Castiglione continued in the service of his successor Francesco-Maria

which have led his biographers to suppose, that Castiglione was himself admitted into the order of knighthood. " Fu " raccolto (dal Re Arrigo) con modi così onorati e pieni di " tanta cortesia, che furono da ciascuno riputati molto stra- " ordinarj; e tanto più *avendolo ornato e degnato del Col-* " *laro della Carliera*, che il Re soleva dare a pochissimi, e " di grandissima condizione." *Marliani vita di Castiglione.* Serassi, another of his biographers, says, " Ebbe in dono " (dal Re) *una richissima Collana d' oro;* tanto piacque ad " Arrigo questo gran Gentiluomo." On this subject some doubts have, however, lately been raised, by the Abate D. Francesconi; who has very justly suggested the improbability, that the king would confer on the ambassador, the same honour as he had before bestowed on his sovereign; to which he adds, " Lo schiarire un tal fatto appartiene a " chi avesse l'assunto d'illustrare la Storia di un ordine " cavallaresco coi nomi degli Uomini, che ascritti vi furono, " simili al Castiglione." *v. Francesconi Discorso al Reale Academia Fiorentina. Flor.* 1799. *p.* 80. By the obliging assistance of Sir Isaac Heard, Garter principal King of Arms, I am enabled to clear up these doubts, and to state with confidence, that Castiglione was not of the order of the Garter. King Henry VII. transmitted the ensigns to the duke of Urbino, by the Abbot of Glastonbury and Sir Gilbert Talbot; after which the duke sent Castiglione to England to be installed in his name. On his landing at Dover, on the 20th day of October, Sir Thomas Brandon was dispatched with a considerable retinue to meet him; and in the college

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cesco-Maria della Rovere. The assassination of the cardinal of Pavia by the hands of the duke, and the resentment of Julius II. who in consequence of this sacrilegious murder deprived his nephew of his dignities and estates,*(a)* threw the court of Urbino into great agitation

lege of Arms are yet preserved the particulars of his reception by the lord Thomas Doquara, Lord of St. John's, and Sir Thomas Wriothesley, Garter King of Arms; who conducted him to London, where he was lodged in the house of the pope's Vice-collector. But although Castiglione was not created a knight of the garter, there is yet reason to believe that he received some distinguishing mark of the favour of the king. In the letter which he soon afterwards addressed to that sovereign, giving him an account of the death of the duke, whom he denominates, "virum a CONFRATRIBUS TUIS, "quem adeo dilexisti ut illum præclarissimo GARTERII or-"dine tuo decorare dignatus sis," he refers to certain honours conferred also on himself; "me a tua majestate DIG-"NITATE AC MUNERIBUS auctum." In addition to which it may be observed, that the MS. from which Anstis published the letter of Castiglione, at the end of his second volume on the Order of the Garter, and which MS. is by him stated to be deposited in the museum of Mr. Thoresby at Leeds, was embellished with the arms of Castiglione, surrounded by a collar of SS. ending with two portcullises, and having at the bottom a rose, gules and argent; which affords a strong proof that Henry VII. whose badges were a portcullis and united rose, had decorated Castiglione with such a collar at the time of his mission to this country.

(a) v. ante, chap. viii. *vol.* ii. *p.* 123.

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agitation and distress, and every method was resorted to that was thought likely to mitigate the anger of the pontiff. On his journey to Rome to receive absolution for his crime, the duke was accompanied by Castiglione. The various services rendered by him to the duke were rewarded by a grant of the castle and territory of Ginestrato, which were afterwards exchanged at his request, for the territory of Nuvellara, about two miles from Pesaro, where he had an excellent palace, good air, fine views both by sea and land, and a fertile soil; advantages with which he declares himself so perfectly satisfied, that he has only to pray that God would give him a disposition contentedly to enjoy them.

On the death of Julius II. in February, 1513, and the election of Leo X. Castiglione was dispatched by the duke of Urbino to Rome, in the character of ambassador to the holy see; where he obtained the particular favour of the pope, who confirmed to him the grant of his territory of Nuvellara,(a) and manifested on all

(a) This grant, which is expressed in terms highly honourable to Castiglione, is given in the Appendix, No. CXCV.

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all occasions the greatest respect for his talents and opinions, particularly on subjects of taste. He had now frequent opportunities of enjoying the society of his former friends; among whom were Sadoleti, Bembo, Filippo Beroaldo the younger, the poet Tebaldeo, and Federigo Fregoso archbishop of Salerno, nephew of the duchess of Urbino. He maintained a strict intimacy with Michel-Agnolo, with Raffaello, and with the many other eminent artists then resident at Rome; nor was there perhaps any person of his age whose opinion was with more confidence resorted to, on account of his judgment in architecture, painting, sculpture, and other works of art; insomuch, that it is said that Raffaello himself was frequently accustomed to consult him on his most important works.(a) To the predilection of an amateur he united the science of an antiquarian, and was indefatigable in collecting not only the works of the great masters of his own times, but also busts, statues, cameos, and other remains of ancient art.

The marriage of Castiglione in the beginning of the year 1516, with Ippolita daughter of

(a) *Serassi, in vita del Castiglione, p.* 18.

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of the count Guido Torello, a lady of great accomplishments and high rank, her mother being the daughter of Giovanni Bentivoglio lord of Bologna, detained him for some time at Mantua. It appears, however, that even after his marriage he continued to spend the chief part of his time at Rome, whilst his wife remained with her friends at Mantua; a circumstance which may be supposed to have given rise to those tender and affectionate remonstrances which he has himself so elegantly expressed in an Ovidian epistle, written in the name of his wife, which not only displays many traits in his character and conduct, but affords a satisfactory proof, that as a Latin poet he might justly rank with the most eminent of his contemporaries.(a) The death of his lady, which happened in child-bed, whilst he

(a) This piece, entitled, *Hippolyta, Balthasari, Castilioni Conjugi*, has given rise to an erroneous opinion, that the lady of Castiglione wrote Latin poetry; but although it affords no positive evidence of this circumstance, yet it is not improbable, that the ideas and sentiments it contains, were such as were conveyed to him by his wife during his absence, and which he has thought proper to transpose into Latin verse. The intrinsic merit of this piece, as well as the frequent references which it contains to the connexion between Castiglione and Leo X. entitle it to a place in the Appendix, *No. CXCVI.*

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he was still detained at Rome in the character of ambassador from his relation the marquis of Mantua, rendered him for some time inconsolable. The attention of the cardinals and most distinguished persons in the Roman court was devoted to mitigate his grief, and Leo X. as a mark of his particular esteem, conferred on him about the same time a pension of two hundred gold crowns.(a)

On the death of the pontiff, Castiglione remained in Rome until the election of Adrian VI. soon after whose arrival at that city he returned to Mantua; but on the election of Clement VII. in the year 1523, he was again dispatched by the marquis of Mantua to Rome. The new pontiff, who was well acquainted with his integrity, talents, and experience, and who had occasion to send an ambassador to the emperor Charles V. selected him for this purpose, and having obtained the consent of the marquis of Mantua, dispatched him to Madrid, where he arrived in the month of March, 1525, greatly honoured, as he expresses it, throughout his whole journey, but especially on his arrival at Madrid; where the emperor

(a) *Serassi, vita del Castiglione, p.* 20.

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emperor received him with particular attention and kindness. Whilst he was engaged in this mission, and endeavouring to the utmost of his abilities to reconcile the differences between the European powers, he received the alarming intelligence of the capture and sacking of the city of Rome, and of the imprisonment of the supreme pontiff. The extreme grief which he experienced on this occasion was rendered still more poignant, by a letter from the pope, complaining that he had not given him timely information, so as to enable him to avoid the disaster. This produced a long justificatory reply from Castiglione, in which he recapitulates his efforts and his services, both before and after this unfortunate event, the plan of which had not been laid in Spain, but in Italy, and asserts, that he had prevailed on the Spanish prelates to suspend the performance of divine offices, and to address themselves in a body to the emperor to demand the liberation of their chief, the vicar of Christ on earth. By these representations he succeeded in removing the unfounded prepossessions which the pope had entertained against him; but the wound which his own sensibility had received from these imputations, was too deep to admit of a cure. The favours of the emperor, who conferred on him the privileges of a denizen

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in Spain and nominated him bishop of Avila, which see produced a large revenue, were insufficient to restore him to his former tranquillity; and a feverish indisposition of six days' continuance, terminated his life at Toledo, on the second day of February, 1529, at the age of little more than fifty years. His eulogy was pronounced in a few words, but with great justice, by the emperor himself, who on this event said to Lodovico Strozzi the nephew of Castiglione, "I assure you we have lost one "of the most accomplished gentlemen of the "age."*(a)*

The

(a) "Yo vos digo que es muerto uno de los "mejores Cavalleros del mundo."

The body of Castiglione was interred in the Metropolitan church of Toledo, whence it was afterwards removed by his daughter to the church of the *Frati Minori*, at Mantua, and deposited in a handsome chapel erected for that purpose, with the following inscription written by Bembo:

Baldassari Castilioni Mantuano.

omnibus naturæ dotibus, plurimis bonis artibus, ornato; Græcis literis erudito; in Latinis et Etruscis etiam poetæ; oppido Nebulariæ in Pisauren. ob virt. milit. donato; duabus obitis legationibus, Britannica et Romana; Hispaniensem cum ageret,

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His *Libro del Cortegiano.*

The celebrated *Libro del Cortegiano*, which had engaged the attention of Castiglione for several years, was terminated in 1518, when it was sent by its author to Bembo, that he might revise it and give his opinion upon it. Castiglione was, however, in no haste to commit it to the press, the first edition being printed in the year 1528, by the successors of Aldo at Venice. Of a work which has been so generally read, and which has been translated into most of the modern languages of Europe, a particular account is now superfluous. It may, however, be observed, that although this treatise professes only to define the qualifications of a perfect courtier, yet it embraces a great variety of subjects; insomuch that there are few questions of importance either in science or morals, which are not therein touched upon or discussed. The merit of the work is greatly enhanced by a pervading rectitude of principle, by

AGERET, AC RES CLEMENTIS VII. PONT. MAX. PROCURARET, QUATUORQUE LIBROS DE INSTITUENDA REGUM FAMILIA PERSCRIPSISSET; POSTREMO CUM CAROLUS V. IMPERATOR EPISCOPUM ABULÆ CREARI MANDASSET, TOLETI VITA FUNCTO, MAGNI APUD OMNES GENTES NOMINIS. QUI VIX. ANNOS L. MENS. II. DIEM I. ALOYSIA GONZAGA, CONTRA VOTUM SUPERSTES: FIL. B. M. P. ANNO DOMINI MDXXIX.

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by the inculcation of true sentiments of honour, and by precepts of magnanimity, of propriety, of temperance, of modesty, and of decorum, which render it equally fit for perusal in all times, by both sexes, and by every rank. The style, although confessedly not uniformly Tuscan, is pure and elegant, and if we could excuse in some of the interlocutors a prolixity which seems to have been common to the age, this production might be esteemed a perfect model of colloquial composition.*(a)*

To

(a) Castiglione has also left a few poetical compositions in his native tongue, which display equal elegance with his Latin writings. His *canzone* beginning

Manca il fior giovenil de' miei prim' anni,

in particular, exhibits a force of sentiment and of expression seldom met with in the works of his contemporaries. That he not only admired, but imitated Lorenzo de' Medici, is sufficiently evident from the following passage in this poem:

" E parmi udire; O stolto, O pien d' obblio,
" Dal pigro sonno omai
" Destati, e dar rimedio t'apparecchia
" Al lungo error;"

which seems to be imitated from these lines of Lorenzo;

" Destati pigro ingegno da quel sonno,
" Che par che gli occhi tuoi d'un vel ricopra,
" Onde veder la verità non ponno.
" Svegliati omai," &c.

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Novel writers.

To enumerate among the moralists the writers of novels and romances, may scarcely be thought allowable; yet as human life and manners are their professed subjects, they may perhaps, without any great impropriety be noticed on this occasion. It is true their end is in general rather to amuse than to instruct; and if we may judge from the works of this nature which were produced in the time of Leo X. they were rather calculated to counteract than to promote those maxims of virtue and decency, which the moralist is most earnest to inculcate. The earliest collection of novels, and perhaps one of the earliest specimens that now remains of the Italian language, is the *Cento Novelle Antiche*,(a) of which numerous copies existed before the time of Boccaccio, who has occasionally been indebted to it for the materials of some of his tales.(b) his

(a) LE CIENTO NOVELLE ANTIKE. *Fiori di Parlare, di belle cortesie, e di belle valentie e doni secondo ke per lo tempo passato anno fatto molti valentiuomini. In Bologna, nelle case di Girolamo Benedetti*, 1525. This edition was published at the instance of Bembo by his friend Carlo Gualteruzzi, who preserved throughout the ancient orthography; but Zeno met with an edition without note of date or place, which he supposed to be of greater antiquity. *v. Note al Fontanini, vol.* ii. *p.* 181.

(b) *Manni, Istoria del Decamerone, p.* 153.

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This production is wholly different from the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, which is an original French work of much later date, and is supposed to have been written for the amusement of Louis XI. before his accession to the throne, and during his retreat to the castle of Guénépe in Brabant, between the years 1457, and 1461.*(a)* Soon after the publication of the Decamerone, which, whatever may be thought of its moral tendency, certainly contributed in an eminent degree to purify and polish the Italian tongue, several other writers employed their talents on similar subjects. The novels of Franco Sacchetti appeared about the year 1376;*(b)* those of Giovanni-Fiorentino, under the name of *Pecorone*, in 1378;*(c)* and those of Masuccio Salernitano, under the title of *Cento Novelle*, soon after the year 1400.*(d)* These writers were, however, rather collectors of singular incidents and extraordinary facts, than original inventors of their own stories, as sufficiently appears

(a) Menagiana, tom. iii. *p.* 401.

(b) The best edition is that of Florence, 1724, 2 *vols.* 8°.

(c) Printed at Milan, 1558, *and several times reprinted.*

(d) Printed at Venice, 1510, 1531, 1541, *&c.*

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appears from a comparison of their narratives with the historians of their own and preceding times.*(a)* In the year 1483, Giovanni Sabadino Degli Arienti of Bologna, published a work consisting of seventy novels, and entitled *Porrettane*, from their being supposed to have been narrated at the baths of that name, which he inscribed to Ercole d'Este duke of Ferrara.*(b)* The celebrity of these productions was, however, greatly surpassed in the beginning of the ensuing century by the writings of Matteo Bandello, which have given him a rank in this department of Letters, second only to Boccaccio himself.

Matteo Bandello.

Bandello was born at Castelnuovo in the district of Tortona, and repaired at an early age to Rome, where he remained for some years under the patronage of his uncle Vincenzio Bandello general of the order of Dominicans, with whom he also travelled through various parts of Italy, France, Spain, and Germany, where it was the duty of the general to inspect

(a) Manni Istoria del Decamerone, p. 131.

(b) The first edition in fo. 1483, is extremely rare. *Pinelli, Sale Catal. No.* 4283. These novels were reprinted at Venice, by Marchio Sesso, 1531. 8°.

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inspect the convents of his order.(a) After the death of his uncle at the convent of Altomonte in Calabria, in the year 1506, Bandello passed a considerable part of his time at the court of Milan, where he had the honour of instructing the celebrated Lucrezia Gonzaga, in whose praise he wrote an Italian poem, which still remains, and where he formed an intimacy with many eminent persons of the age, as appears from the dedicatory epistles prefixed to his novels. Having early enrolled himself in the order of Dominicans in a fraternity at Milan, he entered deeply into the ecclesiastical and political affairs of the times, and after various vicissitudes of fortune, obtained at length the bishoprick of Agen in France, conferred on him by Henry II. Whilst he was thus engaged in frequent journeys and public transactions, he omitted no opportunity of collecting historical anecdotes and narratives of extraordinary events, as materials for his novels, which were composed at different periods of his life, as occasion and inclination concurred. These tales, of which three large volumes were collected and published by him after he had obtained his episcopal

(a) *Mazzuchelli, Scrittori d' Ital. vol.* iii. *p.* 201.

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episcopal dignity, under the title of *Le Novelle del Bandello,(a)* bear the peculiar character which in general distinguishes the literary productions of the ecclesiastics of that age from those of the laity, and are no less remarkable for the indecency of the incidents, than for the natural simplicity with which they are related. Some of the literary historians of Italy have endeavoured to extenuate that want of decorum in these writings, which they cannot entirely defend,*(b)* whilst others have congratulated themselves, that the appearance of so scandalous a work at so critical a period, did not afford the reformers those advantages which they might have obtained, had they known how to avail themselves of them.*(c)* In point of composition, these novels, although much inferior to those of Boccaccio, are written with a degree of vivacity and nature, which seldom fails to interest the reader, and which, combined with the singularity of the

(a) They were printed at Lucca in 1554, in 4*to*. a fourth volume was afterwards published at Lyons, 1574, 8*vo*. They have since been several times reprinted, particularly in London, 1740, in 4 vols. 4*to*.

(b) v. Mazzuchelli Scrittori d' Ital. vol. iii. *p.* 204.

(c) Tiraboschi Storia della Lett. Ital. vii. *par.* iii. *p.* 93.

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the incidents, will probably secure a durable, although not a very honourable reputation to the author.

Pietro Aretino.

Whilst Bandello was collecting the materials for his works, the precincts of literature were polluted by the intrusion of an author yet more disgracefully notorious, the unprincipled and licentious Pietro Aretino. Were it the object of the present pages to collect only such circumstances as might confer honour on the age, the name of this writer might well be omitted, but the depravity of taste and morals is no less an object of inquiry than their excellency. The life of Aretino may be denominated the triumph of effrontery. His birth was illegitimate. The little learning which he possessed, was obtained from the books which in his early years it was his business to bind.(a) He was driven from his native city of Arezzo, for having been the author of a satirical sonnet, and having afterwards found a shelter in Perugia, he there gave a further

 specimen

(a) *Mazzuchelli, vita di Pietro Aretino, p.* 14. *Ediz. Brescia,* 1763. 8°. This work of the count Giammaria Mazzuchelli, however unworthy the subject of it may be, may justly be considered as a perfect specimen of literary biography.

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specimen of his indecorum, by an alteration made by him in a picture on a sacred subject. An early confidence in his own talents induced him to pay a visit to Rome, where he arrived on foot, and without any other effects than the apparel which he wore. Being retained in the service of the eminent merchant Agostino Chigi, he was dismissed on account of having been detected in a theft.(a) He then became a domestic of the cardinal *di S. Giovanni*, on whose death he obtained an employment in the Vatican under Julius II. by whose orders he was, however, soon afterwards expelled from the court. On an excursion which he made into Lombardy, he rendered himself remarkable by the extreme licentiousness of his conduct, which did not prevent him from being received at Ravenna into a confraternity of monks. On his second visit to Rome he found the pontifical chair filled by Leo X. who considering him as a man of talents, admitted him to a share of that bounty which he so liberally dispensed on all who did, and on many who did not deserve it; and Aretino has himself boasted, that on one occasion he received from this pontiff a present in

(a) *v. Mazzuch. vita dell' Aretino, p.* 15.

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in money to a princely amount. The protection of Leo was accompanied by that of the cardinal Giulio de' Medici, who on his becoming supreme pontiff by the name of Clement VII. continued his favour to Aretino. These obligations are confessed by himself in various parts of his writings;*(a)* yet with an ingratitude and an inconsistency which marked the whole of his conduct, he complained, long after the death of both these pontiffs, that in return for all his services they had only repaid him with cruelties and injuries.*(b)* Being compelled to abandon the city of Rome, on account of the share which he had in the indecent set of prints designed by Giulio Romano, and engraved by Marc-Antonio Raimondo, to which Aretino had furnished Italian verses,*(c)* he engaged in

(a) In one of his letters, *vol.* iii. *fogl.* 86, he acknowledges to have received, *dalla santa memoria di Leone danari in real somma. Mazz. in vita. p.* 19.

(b) " Non d'altro lo pagaron, servendo loro, che di " crudeltà ed injurie." *Lettere del Aretin.* iii. 16.

(c) For this scandalous publication the engraver, Marc-Antonio, was committed to prison by the orders of Clement VII. whence he was only liberated on the entreaties of the cardinal (Ippolito) de' Medici, and Baccio Bandinelli. *Vasari, vite de' Pittori,* ii. 420. It is highly probable that the few

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the service of the distinguished commander Giovanni de' Medici, captain of the *Bande nere*, whose favour he obtained in an eminent degree, and who died in his arms in the month of December, 1526, of a wound from the shot of a musquet. The credit which he had acquired by the friendship of this eminent soldier, recommended him to the notice of many of the most celebrated men of the times.*(a)* From this period he fixed his residence at Venice, and resolved not to attach himself to any patron, but to enjoy his freedom, and to procure his own subsistence by the exercise of his talents and the labours of his pen.

It would be as disgusting to enter into an examination

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few impressions which were printed, have all been destroyed. Even those which are preserved in the library of the Vatican are not by Marc-Antonio. *v. Heineke, Dict. des Artistes*, i. 357.

(a) In one of his Capitoli addressed to Cosmo I. duke of Florence, Aretino reminds him of the intimacy that had subsisted between himself and Giovanni de' Medici, the father of the duke.

" Che amicizia non fu, ma fratellanza,
" Quella ch' ebbi col vostro genitore,
" Di propria man di voi n' ho la quietanza."

Opere Burlesche di Berni, &c. iii. 14. *Ed. Fir.* 1723.

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examination of the indecent and abominable writings of Aretino, as it would be tiresome to peruse those long and tedious pieces on religious subjects, by which he most probably sought to counterbalance, in the public opinion, the profaneness of his other productions. It may, indeed, truly be said, that of all the efforts of his abilities, in prose and in verse, whether sacred or profane, epic or dramatic, panegyrical or satirical, and notwithstanding their great number and variety, not one piece exists which in point of literary merit is entitled to approbation; yet the commendations which Aretino received from his contemporaries, are beyond example; and by his unblushing effrontery and the artful intermixture of censure and adulation, he contrived to lay under contribution almost all the sovereigns and eminent men of his time. Francis I. not only presented him with a chain of gold, and afforded him other marks of his liberality, but requested that the pope would allow him the gratification of his society. Henry VIII. sent him at one time three hundred gold crowns,(a) and the emperor Charles

(a) It has also been supposed that Henry VIII. had left

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Charles V. not only allowed him a considerable pension, but on Aretino being introduced to him by the duke of Urbino on his way to Peschiera, placed him on his right hand and rode with him in intimate conversation.*(a)* The distinctions which he obtained by his adulatory sonnets and epistles, from Julius III. were yet more extraordinary. The present of a thousand gold crowns was accompanied by a papal bull, nominating him a *Cavaliere* of the order of *S. Pietro*, to which dignity was also annexed an annual income.*(b)* These favours and distinctions, which were imitated by the inferior sovereigns and chief nobility of Europe, excited the vanity of Aretino to such a degree, that he entertained the strongest expectations of being created a cardinal; for

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left him a legacy in his will. See a curious dedicatory letter on this subject from William Thomas, Clerk of the closet to Edward VI. and a prebendary of St. Paul's, addressed *To Mr. Peter Aretine, the right natural poet;* in Sir Richard Clayton's translation of Tenhove's Memoirs of the House of Medici, *v. ii. p.* 200.

(a) Mazzuch. vita dell' Aretino, p. 64.

(b) Ib. p. 68.

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for the reception of which honour he had actually begun to make preparations.(a) He assumed the titles of *Il Divino*, and *Il Flagello de' Principi*. Medals were struck in honour of him, representing him decorated with a chain of gold, and on the reverse the princes of Europe bringing to him their tribute. Even his mother and his daughter were represented in medals with appropriate inscriptions. His portrait was frequently painted by the best artists of the time, and particularly by the celebrated Titiano, with whom he lived in habits of intimacy;(b) insomuch

(a) *Mazzuch. Vita dell' Aretino, p. 70.* He afterwards boasted that he had refused the cardinalate. *Lettere, vol. vi. p. 293. Mazz. p. 73.*

(b) Of the extreme arrogance and vanity of Aretino, the following passage from one of his letters may afford a sufficient proof, "Tanti Signori mi rompon continuamente "la testa colle visite, che le mie scale son consumate dal "frequentar de' lor piedi, come il pavimento del Campi- "doglio dalle ruote dei carri trionfali. Nè mi credo che "Roma per via di parlare vedesse mai sì gran mescolanza "di nazioni, com' è quella che mi capita in casa. A me "vengono Turchi, Giudei, Indiani, Francesi, Tedeschi, "e Spagnuoli. Or pensate ciò che fanno i nostri Ita- "liani. Del popol minuto dico nulla; perciocchè è più "facile

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somuch that it may justly be asserted, that from the days of Homer to the present, no person who founded his claims to public favour merely on his literary talents, ever obtained one half of the honours and emoluments which were lavished on this illiterate pretender.

Great, however, as these distinctions were, they were not enjoyed by Aretino without considerable deductions, and frequent mortifications and disgrace. In the pontificate of Leo X. he was twice in danger of his life from the attacks of those whom he had calumniated, and on one occasion owed his escape only to the interference of his friend Ferraguto di Lazzara.*(a)* He also met with a firm opponent in the respectable and learned Giammatteo Ghiberti bishop

" facile di tor voi dalla divozione Imperiale, che veder-
" mi un attimo solo senza soldati, senza scolari, sen-
" za frati, e senza preti intorno; per la qual cosa mi
" par esser diventato l'oracolo della verità, da che og-
" nuno mi viene a contare il torto fattogli dal tal prin-
" cipe, e dal cotal prelato; ond' io sono il segretario del
" mondo, e così mi intitolate nelle soprascritte." *Lettere, vol.* i. *p.* 206. *Mazz.* 57.

(a) Mazzuch. vita dell' Aretino, p 81.

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bishop of Verona and apostolic datary, who used all his efforts to strip the mask from this shameless impostor.(a) A still more formidable adversary appeared under the pontificate of Clement VII. in Achille della Volta, a gentleman of Bologna then resident in Rome, on whom Aretino had written a satirical sonnet, and who repaid him with five wounds of a dagger, one of which was for some time supposed to be mortal.(b) In consequence of a lampoon written by Aretino when at Venice, against the distinguished commander Pietro Strozzi, who in the year 1542, wrested from the Imperialists the fortress of Marano, that haughty soldier gave him to understand, that if he repeated the insult he would have him assassinated even in his bed; in consequence of which he lived under great apprehensions as long as Strozzi remained in the Venetian territories.(c) A singular interview is said to have taken place between Aretino and Tintoretto the painter, on whom he had lavished his abuse. Tintoretto

(a) *Mazzuch. vita dell' Aretino, p.* 23, *&c.*

(b) *Ibid. p.* 30.

(c) *Ibid. p.* 74.

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toretto having invited him to his house under the pretext of painting his portrait, seated him in a chair as if for that purpose; but instead of taking up his pencils, the painter drew from his bosom a large pistol, which he levelled at Aretino. The conscious and terrified libeller cried out for mercy, when Tintoretto said with great gravity, *compose yourself whilst I take measure of you*, and moving the direction of the pistol slowly from head to foot, he added, *I find you are just the length of two pistols and a half.* Aretino understood the lesson, and from this time avowed himself the painter's warmest friend.(a) On another occasion he incurred the resentment of the English ambassador at Venice, by insolently insinuating that he had detained in his hands the money remitted by his sovereign as a present to Aretino; in consequence of which the ambassador is said to have hired six or seven persons to attack him with cudgels, which he represented as a design to murder him.(b) There is good reason to believe, that

(a) *Ridolfi, vite de' Pittori Veneziani. par.* ii. *p.* 58.

(b) This circumstance is referred to in many of the letters of Aretino, cited by Mazzuchelli. In the Appendix

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that Aretino experienced on many occasions similar treatment; on which account Boccalini has humorously called him "the load-"stone of clubs and daggers;" adding, "that "those persons who were as ready of hand as "he was of speech, had left their marks in "such a manner on his face, his breast, and "his arms, that he was streaked all over like "a chart of navigation."

Nor did the arrogance and effrontery of Aretino escape the reprehension of his numerous literary adversaries, who availed themselves of every opportunity to render him an object of ridicule and contempt; as a contrast to the ostentatious medals which he had caused to be struck in honour of himself, others were made public, exhibiting his resemblance on one side, and on the other a most indecent device, as emblematical of his character and writings. On the report of his being mortally wounded by Achille della Volta in Rome, Girolamo Casio a cavalier of Bologna wrote a sonnet

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will also be found a letter on this subject from Aretino to Sir Philip Hoby, the English ambassador at the Imperial Court, which has not before been published. *v. Appendix, No. CXCVII.*

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sonnet of exultation, and on his recovery another equally satirical and vehement.*(a)* The enmity of the good prelate Ghiberti was seconded by the keen satire of Berni, who was employed by him in his office as datary of the holy see, and who produced a sonnet against Aretino, which in point of vivacity, scurrility, and humour, has perhaps never been equalled;*(b)* but the most inveterate enemy of Aretino was Nicolò Franco, who after having been for some time his assistant in the composition of his various works, became at length his rival, and whilst he at least equalled him in virulence and licentiousness, greatly surpassed him in learning and abilities. On being driven by Aretino from his house, and finding that Aretino, on reprinting the first volume of his letters, had omitted some passages in which he had before spoken of him with great approbation, Franco was so exasperated that he attacked his adversary in a series of indecent, satirical, and ludicrous sonnets,

(a) These sonnets are given by Mazzuchelli, *vita dell' Aretino*, *p.* 31, 32.

(b) This production is a master-piece in its way, and although frequently reprinted, ought not to be omitted on this occasion. *v. Appendix, No. CXCVIII.*

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sonnets, which he continued to pour forth against him, until he had completed a volume. In defiance of decency this collection has been several times reprinted, and is certainly not less disgraceful to the memory of its author than to that of his opponent.(a) Other

(a) DELLE RIME *di M. Niccolò Franco contra Pietro Aretino, et della* PRIAPEA *del medesimo.* The first edition was in 1541, and bears date at Turin, but was, in fact, printed at Casale; the second in 1546, and the third in 1548; besides these, a modern edition of the *Priapea* was published, with the *Vendemmiatore* of Luigi Tansillo, *a* PE-KING, *regnante Kien-Long, nel* xviii. *secolo,* probably printed at Paris. These productions of Franco are well characterized by Tiraboschi, "Le più grossolane "oscenità, la più libera maledicenza, e il più ardito dis- "prezzo de' principi, de' Romani pontefici, de' padri del "Concilio di Trento, e di più altri gravissimi personaggi "sono le gemme di cui egli adorna questo suo infame lavo- "ro." *Storia della Lett. Ital.* vii. *par.* iii. *p.* 14. At the close of his work is a letter addressed, *Agli infami principi dell' infame suo secolo, Nic. Franco, Beneventano,* in which he upbraids all the sovereigns of his time, in the grossest terms, for conferring their favours on such a wretch as Pietro Aretino; a reproof which they well merited, but which loses its effect from the indecent language in which it is conveyed. The scurrility of Franco met, however, with a severe retribution. In the year 1569, he was seized upon at Rome, by the orders of Pius V. and publicly hanged as a criminal. On being brought out for execution, his venerable

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Other persons of much more respectable character also animadverted with great severity on the conduct and writings of Aretino; and if on the one hand he was flattered as an earthly divinity, on the other he was treated as the outcast of society and the opprobrium of the human race.

The death of Aretino is said to have resembled his life. Being informed of some outrageous instance of obscenity committed by

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nerable appearance and hoary head excited universal compassion, and his exclamation, "Questo poi è troppo pur," so remarkable for its *naivetè* on such an occasion, and which was the only complaint he uttered, was assented to by all present. A satirical epigram, written by Franco, against the pope, is supposed to have incurred his resentment. This epigram is given in the Menagiana, *tom.* ii. *p.* 358.

But Franco had, in his sonnets, committed much greater offences, and had, in particular, alluded to the atrocious conduct of Pier-Luigi Farnese, the son of Paul III. which is fully related by Varchi, at the end of his Florentine history, and exhibits the most horrible instance of diabolical depravity that ever disgraced human nature.

That Franco was a man of real learning, appears from his various other works, among which is a translatior of the Iliad of Homer, in ottava rima, which is said to be preserved in the Albani library, at Rome. *v. Tirab. Storia della Lett. Ital.* vii. *par.* iii. *p.* 15. *in nota.*

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by his sisters, who were courtesâns at Venice, he was suddenly affected with so violent a fit of laughter that he overturned his chair, and thereby received an injury on his head which terminated his days. This story, however extraordinary, is not wholly discredited by the accurate Mazzuchelli; who further informs us, although, as he admits, on doubtful evidence, that when Aretino was on the point of death and had received extreme unction, he exclaimed,

" Guardatemi da topi, or che' son unto."

Greas'd as I am, preserve me from the rats.

The enemies of Aretino, not appeased by his death, have commemorated him by an epitaph as profane as his own writings, which has been repeated with several variations in the Italian, French, and Latin languages, and is erroneously supposed to have been engraven on his tomb in the church of S. Luca at Venice.

" Qui giace l' Aretin, poeta Tosco,
" Che disse mal d'ognun, fuorchè di Dio,
" Scusandosi col dir, *Non lo conosco.*"

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1521.

VICISSITUDES and final establishment of the Laurentian Library—Leo X. increases the Library of the Vatican—Custodi *or keepers of the Vatican Library*—LORENZO PARMENIO—FAUSTO SABEO—*Learned Librarians of the Vatican in the pontificate of Leo X.*—TOMASO FEDRO INGHIRAMI—FILIPPO BEROALDO—ZANOBIO ACCIAIUOLI—GIROLAMO ALEANDRO—*Other Libraries in Rome—Historians in the time of Leo X.*—NICOLO MACHIAVELLI—*His history of Florence—Estimate of his political writings*—FILIPPO DE' NERLI—JACOPO NARDI—FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI—*His history of Italy*—PAULLO GIOVIO—*His historical works—Miscellaneous writers*—PIERIO VALERIANO—CELIO CALCAGNINI—LILIO GREGORIO GYRALDI.

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Vicissitudes and establishment of the Laurentian library.

BY no circumstance in the character of an individual is the love of literature so strongly evinced, as by the propensity for collecting together the writings of illustrious scholars, and compressing "the soul of ages past" within the narrow limits of a library. Few persons have experienced this passion in an equal degree with Leo X. and still fewer have had an equal opportunity of gratifying it. We have already seen that in the year 1508, whilst he was yet a cardinal, he had purchased from the monks of the convent of S. Marco at Florence, the remains of the celebrated library of his an-

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cestors, and had transferred it to his own house at Rome.(a) Unwilling, however, to deprive his native place of so invaluable a treasure, he had not, on his elevation to the pontificate, thought proper to unite this collection with that of the Vatican; but had intrusted it to the care of the learned Varino Camerti; intending again to remove it to Florence, as to the place of its final destination. This design, which he was prevented from executing by his untimely death, was afterwards carried into effect by the cardinal Giulio de' Medici, who before he attained the supreme dignity had engaged the great artist Michel-Agnolo Bonarotti, to erect the magnificent and spacious edifice near the church of S. Lorenzo at Florence, where these inestimable treasures were afterwards

(a) *v. ante. chap.* x. *vol.* ii. *p.* 373. "Est præterea "*in ædibus* Reverendiss. Joannis de Medicis Florentini "primarii Diaconi Cardinalis Bibliotheca pulcherrima, "cujus codices Magnificus Laurentius, pater ejus, ex Græcia "Florentiam transferendos curavit." *Fr. Albertini de Mirabilibus Romæ, lib.* iii. *ap. Bandin. Lettera sopra la Biblioteca Laurenziana, p.* 22. The sum paid by the cardinal to the monks of S. Marco was 2652 ducats. *Bandin. Præf. ad vol.* i. *Catal. MSS. Græc. Bib. Laurent. p.* 13.

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wards deposited ;(a) and where, with considerable additions from subsequent benefactors, they yet remain, forming an immense collection of manuscripts of the oriental, Greek, Roman, and Italian writers; now denominated the *Bibliotheca Mediceo Laurentiana.(b)*

The

(a) Over the great doors which open into the hall, the following inscription appears on marble:

DEO
PRÆSIDIBUSQUE FAMILIÆ DIVIS
CLEMENS VII. MEDICES
PONT. MAX.
LIBRIS OPT. STUDIO MAJORUM
ET SUO UNDIQUE CONQUISITIS
BIBLIOTHECAM
AD ORNAMENTUM PATRIÆ AC
CIVIUM SUORUM UTILITATEM
D. D.

(b) An ample and well-arranged catalogue of the Greek, Latin, and Italian MSS. in this library has been published by the learned Canonico Angelo-Maria Bandini, who held the office of librarian from the year 1756 to the time of his death in 1803, in 11 vols. folio. This great work, which has opened the treasures of the Laurentian library to the literary world, was published at the instance of the emperor Francis I. who presented the compiler with a sum of money towards the expense, and made him promises of further assistance, which were defeated by the untimely death of that munificent

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Leo X. increases the library of the Vatican.

The care of Leo X. in the preservation of his domestic library, did not, however, prevent him from bestowing the most sedulous attention in augmenting that which was destined to the use of himself and his successors in the palace of the Vatican. This collection, begun by that excellent and learned sovereign Nicholas V. and greatly increased by succeeding pontiffs, was already deposited in a suitable edifice erected for that purpose by Sixtus IV. and was considered as the most extensive assemblage of literary productions in all Italy. The envoys employed by Leo X. on affairs of state in various

munificent sovereign. In the letters of the venerable Canonico to the author of the present work, he laments the want of that patronage to which his labours were so justly entitled, "Pubblicai a mie spese, il Catalogo ragionato "della *Biblioteca Laurentiana;* benchè mi mancasse il "mio Protettore Francesco I. Imperatore, che mi animò ad "intraprenderlo con lusinghiere speranze; che dopo la di "lui improvvisa morte svanirono; perchè chi succedè "non era niente portato per questi studi." A Catalogue of the oriental manuscripts was before published by the learned Evodio Asseman, archbishop of *Apamea*, *Florence*, 1742. *fo.* And the Canonico Anton-Maria Biscioni, who preceded Bandini in the office of librarian of the Laurentian, also printed at Florence in the year 1752, the first volume in folio of a catalogue which contains also the oriental MSS. but which was not published until after his death.

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rious parts of Europe, were directed to avail themselves of every opportunity of obtaining these precious remains of antiquity, and men of learning were frequently dispatched to remote and barbarous countries for the sole purpose of discovering and rescuing these works from destruction. (a) Nor did the pontiff hesitate to render his high office subservient to the promotion of an object, which he considered as of the utmost importance to the interests of literature, by requiring the assistance of the other sovereigns of christendom in giving effect to his researches. In the year 1517, he dispatched as his envoy, John Heytmers de Zonvelben, on a mission to Germany, Denmark, Sweden, and Gothland, for the sole purpose of inquiring after literary works, and particularly historical compositions. This envoy was furnished with letters from the pope to the different sovereigns through whose dominions he had to pass, earnestly entreating them to promote the object of his visit by every means in their power. Some of these letters

(a) "Lagomarsinius in notis ad Pogiani Epistolas mentionem fecit literarum Leonis, recuperandi caussa duo Græca volumina sacræ Bibliæ Ximenio cardinali commo-[illegible]." *Fabr. in vita Leon. x. adnot. 113. p. 307.*

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ters yet remain, and afford a decisive proof of the ardour with which Leo X. engaged in this pursuit.(a) With a similar view he dispatched to Venice the celebrated Agostino Beazzano, whom he furnished with letters to the doge Loredano, directing him to spare no expense in the acquisition of manuscripts of the Greek authors.(b) Efforts so persevering could not

(a) M. de Seidel, privy counsellor to his Prussian Majesty, communicated to the learned Bayle, copies of two original letters or briefs of Leo X. in the hand-writing of Sadoleti; the one of them addressed to the archbishop elector of Mentz, requesting him to assist his envoy Heytmers, in his inquiries after ancient MSS. the other, probably, to the canons of Magdebourg, with particular inquiries respecting the Decades of Livy; all of which are said to have been then preserved in the library of that place. These letters Bayle published in his great work, from which they are given in the Appendix, No. CXCIX.

Another letter to the same effect was also addressed by Leo X. to Christian II. king of Denmark, which is mentioned by Bayle to have been published in the *Nova literaria Maris Balthici et Septentrionis*. Not being able to procure this work, I had recourse to the assistance of the learned Sig. Abate Giacopo Morelli, librarian of S. Marco at Venice, who has obligingly enabled me to lay also a copy of this very interesting letter before my readers. *v. Appendix, No. CC.*

(b) *Fabron. in vita Leon. x. p.* 201.

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not fail of success; and the Vatican library, during the pontificate of Leo X. was augmented by many valuable works, which without his vigilance and liberality would probably have been lost to the world.

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On his attaining the pontifical dignity, Leo X. found the office of *Custode*, or keeper of the Vatican library, intrusted to Lorenzo Parmenio, who had been appointed by Julius II. in the year 1511, probably as a reward for the various productions in Latin verse, in which he has celebrated the civil and military transactions of his patron.*(a)* Although Parmenio survived until the year 1529, yet it appears that Leo X. conferred the office of *Custode* on Fausto Sabeo of Brescia, but whether as a coadjutor with Parmenio, or as his successor, and at what precise period, has not been sufficiently ascertained.*(b)* Before his nomination to this trust,

Custodi or keepers of the Vatican library.

Lorenzo Parmenio.

Fausto Sabeo.

(a) One of the poems of Parmenio, entitled, *De cladibus per Gallos Italiæ allatis, et de triumpho Julii II. Pont. Max.* is preserved in the Laurentian library. *Plut.* lxv. *Cod.* 51. Another piece, *De operibus et rebus gestis Julii II. Pont. Max.* has been published. *v. Anecd. Rom. vol.* iii. *ap. Tirab. Storia della Lett. Ital.* vii. *par.* i. *p.* 201. *nota.*

(b) Tiraboschi positively informs us, that Parmenio held the

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trust, which he is said to have held under six succeeding pontiffs, Sabeo had been employed by Leo X. in exploring distant regions for ancient manuscripts, as appears from several of his Latin epigrams; a collection of which was published at Rome in the year 1556.(a) In some of these he boasts of the important services which he had rendered to the pontiff, and complains that his remuneration had not been equal to his merits.(b) After the death of

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the office from 1511, to the time of his death in 1522, but which should be 1529, either of which periods includes the whole pontificate of Leo X. yet he afterwards as positively asserts, that Sabeo was appointed by Leo X. without seeming to be aware of any inconsistency. This appointment of Sabeo is also confirmed by various other testimonies, and particularly by cardinal Quirini, in his *Spec. Litterat. Brixian.* *p.* 171.

(a) EPIGRAMMATUM, LIBRI V. *ad Henricum Regem Galliæ. I. De Diis. II. De Heroibus. III. De Amicis. IV. De Amoribus. V. De Miscellaneis. Romæ. apud Valerium et Aloysium Doricos, Fratres Brixienses.* 1556. 8*vo.*

(b) "AD LEONEM X. PONT. MAX.

"Præmia pro meritis, et munera, maxime princeps,
"Quum tribuas, casus quid meruere mei?
"Ipse tuli pro te discrimina, damna, labores,
"Et varios casus, barbarie in media;
"Carcere ut eriperem, et vinclis, et funere, libros,
"Qui te conspicerent, et patriam reduces.

"Eripui;

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of Leo X. he addressed a short poem to Clement VII. in which he bestows on Leo the appellations of bountiful, magnanimous, and learned, and laments his death with apparent sincerity, although at the same time he positively asserts, that he never received any reward for all his services ;(a) an assertion which would

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" Eripui; ante pedes acclamavere jacentes,
" Vive Leo, cujus vivimus auspiciis.
" Ergo mihi quid erit? Pro te nam cuncta reliqui;
" Memet, cognatos, et studia, et patriam.
" Das cuncta, et cunctis, uni mihi dextera avara est,
" Me miserum, plus est ære opus, oré juvas.
" Ipse ego promerui, spero, peto; quattuor ista,
" Alcidæ clavam detraherent manibus.
" Magna dedi minimus; majus, Leo Maxime, reddas,
" Vel quia das cunctis, vel quia promerui."

On presenting to Leo X. a MS. copy of the Cosmography of Julius Orator, Sabeo accompanied it with the following lines:

" Ad Leonem X. Pont. Max.

" Tot tibi quum dederim nostri monimenta laboris,
" Largus adhuc nequeo parcere muneribus.
" Multa dedi, nunc plura fero tibi, scilicet orbis
" Oppida cum populis, æquora cum fluviis."

(a) " Ad Clementem vii. Pont. Max.

" Commendo tibi me, meamque sortem,
" Et dispendia quæ tuli, et labores,

" Romana

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would be better entitled to credit, if Sabeo had not indulged himself in similar complaints against all the pontiffs, by whose favour he continued in that office, which had been first conferred upon him by the liberality of Leo X.

In the year 1527, when the city of Rome was captured and plundered by the banditti under

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" Romanæ ob studium eruditionis,
" Jussu Principis inclyti LEONIS,
" Largi, magnanimi, undecunque docti,
" Per tot oppida, regna, nationes,
" Multo tempore sumptibus meisque.
" Incassum hactenus, hactenus tot orbis
" Disjunctissima regna, barbarosque
" Mores, et populos truces, ferosque
" Lustrarim, peragraverim, sine ullo
" Unquam munere, et absque præmio ullo,
" Ecquis crederet, et quis hoc putaret?
" Et tamen vacua manu recessi
" Post longas ego postulationes,
" Post longam miser esuritionem,
" Quamvis vincere liberalitatem
" Dando sit solitus LEO. O LEO mi!
" Immaturior æstimatione,
" Hinc te proripis, orbe derelicto,
" Ut longis lacrymis meos ocellos
" Damnares simul, et simul necares.
" O mors invida, pessimæ et sorores!
" Ter mors pessima, et invidæ sorores!
" Hoc me perdidit, abstulit, peremit."

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under the duke of Bourbon,(a) the Vatican library partook of the general calamity, and many of the valuable works there deposited were seized upon, dispersed, or destroyed by the ignorant and ferocious soldiery. The humiliating and dangerous situation to which Clement VII. was reduced by this unexpected event, prevented him from paying that attention to repair the injury, which from his well known disposition to the encouragement of literature, there is reason to believe he would otherwise have done. On this occasion the *Custode*, Sabeo, thought it necessary to direct the

(a) The horror which this event occasioned at Rome, may perhaps be more fully conceived by a particular instance, than by a general description. Giuliano Principalle of Camerino, a public professor of languages at Rome, who had been appointed by Leo X. to superintend the education of his nephew, the cardinal Innocenzo Cibò, was so shocked at the instances of brutal cruelty which he saw perpetrated by the Spanish and German Soldiers, that in a moment of desperation, he flung himself from a lofty window, and perished by a fall on the pavement. The immediate cause of his terror is assigned by Valeriano, "cum conspexisset aliquos "ex familia per testes arripi, et ea parte alligatos sublimes "in supplicium, et absconditi auri quæstione vexari," &c. *Val. de Infel. lit.* Of the Latin poetry of Principalle, a favourable specimen is given by Lancelotto in his life of Angelo Colocci, *p.* 70.

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the attention of the pontiff to the wretched state of the collection, which he conceived might be done with the least offence, by addressing to him a Latin poem in elegiac verse. In this piece he boldly personifies the Vatican library under the character of a most abject, miserable, and mutilated figure, that intrudes herself on the pontiff, and represents her services, her calamities, and the claims which she has on his favour.*(a)* These remonstrances seem, however, to have had little effect during this turbulent period; and it was not until the succeeding pontificate of Paul III. that the library began to revive from its misfortunes, and to recover its former splendour.

Learned librarians of the Vatican.

But besides the *Custode* or keeper, this celebrated library has also required the attention of a *Bibliotecario* or librarian; a trust which has generally been conferred on men eminent for their rank, or distinguished by their learning, and for a long time past has been conferred only on a cardinal of the church.

(a) This piece is given by cardinal Quirini, in his *Spec. Lit. Brix. p.* 173.

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church.(a) At the time of the elevation of Leo X. this office was filled by Tomaso Fedra Inghirami, who had been appointed by Julius II. to succeed Giuliano di Volterra bishop of Ragusa, in the year 1510. This eminent scholar was descended from a noble family of Volterra, where in the commotions which took place in the year 1472,(b) his father lost his life, and the surviving members of the family, among whom was Tomaso, then only two years of age, sought a shelter at Florence. Being there received under the immediate protection of Lorenzo de' Medici, and having closely attended to his studies, Tomaso at thirteen years of age was induced, by the advice of that great man, to pay a visit to Rome, where he made such a rapid progress in his acquirements, as to obtain an early

Tomaso Fedra Inghirami.

(a) Tiraboschi informs us, that the custom of conferring the office of librarian on a cardinal, arose in the time of Paul III. who passed a decree to that effect. *v. Storia della Lett. Ital. vol.* vii. *par.* i. *p.* 200. But Mazzuchelli has thrown some doubts on this circumstance. *v. Scrittori d' Italia, vol.* i, *p.* 19.

(b) *v. Life of Lorenzo de' Medici, vol.* i. *p.* 149. *4to. Ed.*

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early and deserved celebrity.(a) Soon after the accession of Alexander VI. he was nominated by that pontiff a canon of S. Pietro, and dignified with the rank of a prelate. In the year 1495, he was sent as papal nuncio into the Milanese, to treat with the emperor elect Maximilian, on which embassy he had the good fortune to obtain not only the approbation of the pope, but also the favour of the emperor, who soon after the return of Inghirami to Rome transmitted to him from Inspruck an Imperial diploma, by which, after enumerating his various accomplishments, and particularly his excellence in poetry and Latin Literature, he created him count

(a) He obtained the name of *Fedra*, or Phædra, by a singular instance of talents and promptitude. Having undertaken, with some of his learned friends, to perform before the cardinal of S. Giorgio (Riario) the tragedy of Seneca, entitled *Hippolytus*, in which he acted the part of *Phædra*, and a part of the machinery having by accident been broken, which interrupted the performance, he alone entertained the audience whilst the injury was repaired, by the recital of extemporary Latin verse; on which account he was saluted, amidst the applauses of his hearers, by the name of *Phædra*, which he afterwards retained and used as his signature. *Elog. di Inghirami. Elog. Tosc.* ii. 227.

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count palatine and poet laureate, and conceded to him the privilege of emblazoning the Austrian eagle in his family arms.(a) Nor was Inghirami less favoured by Julius II. who, besides appointing him librarian of the Vatican, conferred on him the important office of pontifical secretary, which he afterwards quitted for that of secretary to the college of cardinals, in which capacity he was present in the conclave on the election of Leo X. By the favour of the new pontiff, Inghirami was enriched with many ecclesiastical preferments, and continued in his office of librarian until his death, which was occasioned by an accident in the streets of Rome, on the sixth day of September, 1516, when he had not yet completed

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(a) This diploma, which is dated the fourteenth day of March, 1497, thus recognises the merits of Inghirami: "proque observantiæ et fidei tuæ merito Romanam Aquilam nostram, armis et insignibus tuis, tuæque prosapiæ et familiæ, pro libito adjicere et applicare valeas, idemque tota domus tua, et in perpetuum posteri et hæredes tui ex Decreto et potestate nostra præsenti, facere possint. * * tibi licet absenti, cum aliis curis occupati, dum nuper in Insubribus apud nos præsens fores, id agere nequiverimus, Poetices et latinarum literarum benemerenti elargimur, *Poetamque Laureatum* facimus, instituimus, et creamus." *Elog. Tosc.* ii. 230.

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the forty-sixth year of his age.(a) To this unfortunate event, it is probably owing that so few of his writings have reached the present times. From the testimony of his contemporaries, it is well known that he was the author of many learned works. Among these, his surviving friend Giano Parrhasio has enumerated a defence of Cicero, a compendium of the history of Rome, a commentary on the poetics of Horace, and remarks on the comedies of Plautus; but these works were left at his death in an unfinished state and

(a) The mule on which he rode took fright at a car drawn by two buffaloes, and threw him on the pavement near the wheels of the car, which had nearly passed over him; by which, although not materially hurt, he was so terrified that he did not long survive the accident. *Elog. Tosc. v.* ii. *p.* 236. To the corpulence of Inghirami, Angelo Colocci alludes in the following satirical lines, addressed to Leo X.

"Hesterna, Leo, luce cum perisset
"Orator gravis, et gravis Poeta,
"Hæredem sibi fecit ex deunce
"*Erasmum*, *Beroaldum* ex triente,
"Ex semisse *Juvencium*; Camillo
"Nepoti reliquum reliquit assis.

"Is

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and have since been dispersed and lost.(a) It has been supposed, and not without reason, that the additions to the *Aulularia* of Plautus, first published at Paris in 1513, are from the pen of Inghirami.(b) For that celebrity of which he has been deprived by the loss of his writings, he has, however, been in some degree compensated by the numerous testimonies of applause conferred upon him by his contemporaries, among whom that of Erasmus is deserving of particular notice.(c)

" Is vero tumulum replevit unus
" Posteros monumenta ne sequantur."
Coloc. Op. lat. p. 56.

(a) " Quis ultimam inchoatis operibus manum imponet? " quæ non secus ac Apellis illa decantatissima Venus inter- " rupta pendent." *Parrhasii Orat. in Ep. ad Att. p.* 145. *ap. Elog. Tosc.* ii. 232.

(b) *Elog. Tosc. v.* ii. *p.* 232.

(c) " Ibidem cognovi et amavi *Petrum Phædrum*, lin- " gua verius quam calamo celebrem; mira enim in dicendo " tum copia, tum autoritas. Magna felicitatis pars est " Romæ innotuisse. Ille primum innotuit ex Senecæ Tra- " gedia, cui titulus *Hippolytus*, in qua representavit per- " sonam *Phædræ*, in area quæ est ante Palatium Cardinalis " Raphaelis Georgiani. Sic ex ipso Cardinale didici, unde " et

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Filippo Beroaldo.

On the death of Inghirami, the office of librarian of the Vatican was conferred by Leo X. on Filippo Beroaldo, usually called Beroaldo the younger. This eminent scholar sprung from a noble family of Bologna, and was the nephew(a) and pupil of Filippo Beroaldo the elder, under whose instructions he made such an early proficiency in the Greek and Latin languages, that in the year 1496, when he was only twenty-six years of age, he was appointed public professor of polite literature in the university of his native place.(b) Having afterwards chosen the city of Rome as his residence, he there attracted the notice of Leo X. then the cardinal de' Medici, who received him into his service, and employed him as his private secretary.(c) After the accession of Leo to the pontificate

"et *Phædræ* cognomen additum. Is obiit minor annis ni "fallor quinquaginta; dictus sui sæculi Cicero." *Erasm. Ep. lib.* xxiii. *Ep.* 4.

(a) *Lancellotti Vita di Ang. Colocci. p.* 52.

(b) *Mazzuchelli, Scrittori d' Ital. Art. Beroaldo. vol.* iv. *p.* 1018.

(c) *Valerian. de Literator. infel. p.* 41.

pontificate, Beroaldo was nominated *proposto*, or principal of the Roman academy,*(a)* which office he probably relinquished on accepting that of librarian of the Vatican. Of his critical talents his edition of Tacitus, before particularly noticed, affords a favourable specimen ;*(b)* but Beroaldo stands also eminently distinguished among his countrymen by his talents for Latin poetry ; and his three books of odes, first published by him in the year 1530, were received with such applause, particularly by the French nation, that he has had no less than six translators in that country, among whom is the celebrated Clement Marot.*(c)* From a poem of Marc-Antonio Flaminio addressed to Beroaldo, it appears that he had also undertaken an historical work on the events of his own times, which it is much to be regretted that he did not live to complete.

(a) Mazzuchel. Scrittori d'Ital. vol. iv. *p.* 1018.

(b) v. ante, chap. xi. *vol.* ii. *p.* 391.

(c) Goviet, Bibl. Françoise. ap. Mazzuch. iv. 1020, Among the *Traductions de Clement Marot, p.* 23. Ed. Lyons, 1520, we find, *Les tristes vers de Beroalde sur le "jour du vendredi sainct."*

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plete.(a) Beroaldo also appears among the admirers of the celebrated Roman courtesan Imperia, and is said to have been jealous of the superior pretensions of Sadoleti to her favour.(b) The warmth of his temperament, indeed, sufficiently appears in some of his poems. His death, which happened in the year 1518, is said to have been occasioned by some vexations which he experienced from the pontiff in his office as librarian;(c) but the authority of Valeriano and his copyists is not implicitly to be relied on, and the epitaph with which Bembo has honoured the memory of Beroaldo, and which explicitly asserts that Leo X. shed tears on his loss, may be considered as a sufficient proof that he retained

(a) "Scribes Bentivoli fortia Principis
"Tu facta, et Ligurem sanguine Julium
"Gaudentem Latio, infestaque Galliæ
"Nostris agmina finibus." &c.

M. Ant. Flamin. op. p. 33.

(b) *Lancellotti, vita di Ang. Colocci. op. Ital. p.* 29. *Ed. Jesi,* 1772. *in not.*

(c) *Valerian. de Literat. infel. p.* 41.

retained the favour of the pontiff to the close of his days.*(a)*

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The office of librarian of the Vatican, which had become vacant by the death of Beroaldo, was soon afterwards conferred by the pontiff on Zanobio Acciajuoli, a descendant of a noble Florentine family, which has produced many eminent men. Zanobio was born in the year 1461, and having, while yet an infant, been banished with his relations, he was recalled when about sixteen years of age by Lorenzo the Magnificent, and educated by his directions with Lorenzo, the son of Pier-Francesco de' Medici, to whom Zanobio was nearly related.*(b)* Hence he had frequent intercourse

Zanobio Acciajuoli.

(a) "FELSINA TE GENUIT, COLLES RAPUERE QUIRINI,
"LONGUM AUDITA QUIBUS MUSA DISERTA TUA EST.
"ILLA DEDIT RERUM DOMINO PLACUISSE LEONI,
"THEBANOS LATIO DUM CANIS ORE MODOS.
"UNAMINES RAPTUM ANTE DIEM FLEVERE SODALES,
"NEC DECIMO SANCTÆ NON MADUERE GENÆ.
"QUÆ PIETAS, BEROALDE, FUIT TUA, CREDERE VERUM EST,
"CARMIMA NUNC CŒLI TE CANERE AD CITHARAM."

(b) In the dedication by Zanobio to Leo X. of his translation of Theodoretus, *De curatione Græcarum affectionum*, he thus addresses the pontiff: "Nam et magnifi-
"cus

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intercourse with Politiano, Ficino, and other eminent Florentine scholars, whose favour and friendship he conciliated by his early talents and acquirements. After the death of Lorenzo the Magnificent he became disgusted with the commotions which agitated his native place, and devoting himself to a monastic life, received from the famous Girolamo Savonarola, about the year 1494, the habit of a Domenican. For the more effectual promotion of his ecclesiastical studies, he applied himself with great industry to the acquisition of the Hebrew tongue; but the chief part of his time was devoted to the examination of the Greek manuscripts in the library of the Medici, and in that of S. Marco at Florence, from which he selected such as had not before been published, with the design of translating them into Latin and giving them to the world through the medium of the press.*(a)*

On

" cus Laurentius pater tuus, annis me natum quattuor de " viginti, extorrem in patriam revocavit; ubi apud nobiles " consanguineos suos, eosdem meos affines, in bonarum " artium studiis, quæ tunc Florentiæ vestris præsidiis flo- " ruerunt, jucundissime diu vixi." *Mazzuch. Scrittori d'Ital.* i. 50.

(a) Mazzuchelli, Scrittori d' Italia, vol. i. *p.* 51.

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On the elevation of Leo X. Zanobio hastened to Rome, and was received with great kindness by the new pontiff, who enrolled him among his constant attendants and granted him an honourable stipend, with a residence in the oratory of S. Silvestro.(a) A general chapter of his order being held at Naples in the year 1515, Zanobio attended there, and in the presence of the viceroy and the general of the order made an oration in Latin in praise of the city of Naples, which he afterwards published and inscribed to the cardinal of Aragon. Upon his appointment to the office of librarian of the Vatican, he undertook the laborious task of selecting and arranging the ancient public documents there deposited, containing imperial privileges, bulls, and instruments, of which he formed an exact index, and afterwards, by the order of the

(a) Zanobio thus proceeds in his before-mentioned dedication to Leo X. "Ad quæ Patris in me tui, majorum-"que tuorum beneficia, tu id mihi seorsum, Pater Beatis-"sime, contulisti; quod ad pedes tuos gratulandi causa "provolutum, in Urbano S. Silvestri Oratorio, ad hones-"tam studiorum quietem, humanissime collocasti; nos-"træque ætati, jam ad senectutem vergenti, deesse nil "pateris, quod ad religiosi studiosique hominis neces-"sarios usus commodaque pertineat." *Mazzuch. ut sup.*

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the pope, conveyed them to the castle of S. Angelo.(a) It is highly probable that the unwearied industry of Zanobio abridged his days, as he did not long survive to enjoy his office, having died on the twenty-seventh day of July, 1519. To Zanobio we are indebted for collecting and preserving the Greek epigrams of Politiano, which were recommended to his care by their author in his last moments. Among his remaining works is an oration in praise of the city of Rome, which he dedicated to the cardinal Giulio de' Medici.(b) He translated into Latin verse the Greek address of Marcus Musurus to Leo X. prefixed to the first edition of Plato,(c) and made several other translations from the Greek, some of which he inscribed to that pontiff. His Latin poems have been mentioned

(a) This index is published by Montfaucon in the first volume of his *Biblioth. Bibliothecarum MSS. p.* 202.

(b) Printed in 4to. without note of place, printer, or year; the address to the cardinal is signed *in S. Sylvestro, Montis Cabal. die* 26 *Maii.* 1518. *Mazz. ut. supr.*

(c) *v. ante, chap.* xi. *vol.* ii. *p.* 342.

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ed with great applause.(a) Among these is a Sapphic ode addressed to Leo X. inciting him to proceed in improving the city of Rome, and particularly in decorating the Esquilian hill.(b) In the library of the convent of S. Marco at Florence, are also preserved a few lines in the hand-writing of Zanobio, in which he has attempted to compliment the pontiff, on the happy coincidence of the name of his family

(a) Alberti denominates his writings, "dulcissima et "elegantissima, et undequaque sententiis optimis redo- "lentia." *De viris illustribus, p.* 154. *ap. Mazzuch.* i. 53. Lilio Greg. Gyraldi thus characterizes him. "Fuit "et Zenobius Actiolus adolescens poeta bonus, ea enim "ætate pleraque argutè et eleganter composuit, alia è "græco feliciter latinè vertit, digna illa quidem ut ea cum "cura legatis; verum mox mutato vitæ instituto, sectatus "Hieronymi Savonarolæ sanctioris vitæ sectam, Christo "Deo omne suum studium dicavit." *De Poet. suor. temp. Dial.* i. *p.* 538.

(b) This ode, which is now for the first time laid before the public, will perhaps scarcely be thought to confirm the approbation bestowed on the writings of Acciajuoli by his contemporaries; but the relation which it bears to the character of Leo X. and to his munificence in decorating the city of Rome, would alone entitle it to the notice of the reader. *v. App. No. CCI.*

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family with the appellations of his high dignity.(a)

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Girolamo Aleandro.

Acciajuoli was succeeded in his office as librarian, by Girolamo Aleandro, who was, however, soon called off from the duties of this station by his embassy to the imperial diet, to oppose the rapid increase of the doctrines of Luther. Of his conduct on that occasion some account has already been given;(b) but of so eminent a scholar and so extraordinary a man, some further particulars cannot be uninteresting. Were we to rely on the positive assertion of Luther, Aleandro was of Jewish origin; but neither Luther nor his opponents were remarkable for a scrupulous

(a) De Leone, Decimo, Medico.
Ut nomen Leo regium est,
Ægris ut Medico nil potius datur,
Nec culmen Decimum supra
Cuiquam per numeros ire licet novos;
Sic et summus, et optimus
Rex est, qui Decimus, qui Medicus, Leo.
Zenobii Acciajoli, Ord. Præd.
Propria Manu. *Ex Codice M. S. Marucelliano, Flor.*

(b) *v. ante, chap.* xix. *p.* 35.

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pulous adherence to truth in the characters given by them of their adversaries, and this aspersion, if it is to be considered as such, may safely be placed to the account of religious animosity. In reproaching him with his supposed origin, Luther, however, admits that Aleandro was acquainted with the Hebrew as his vernacular tongue, that he was familiar with the Greek from his infancy, and that he had acquired by long experience the use of the Latin language.(a) Girolamo was in fact the son of Francesco Aleandro, a physician at

(a) "Venit his diebus Hieronymus Aleander, vir sua "opinione longe maximus, non solum propter linguas, quas "eximie callet, siquidem Ebræa illi vernacula est, Græca a "puero illi coaluit, Latinam autem didicit diutina profes- "sione, sed etiam mirabilis sibi videtur ob antiquitatem "generis. Nam *Judæus* natus est; quæ gens immodice "gloriatur de Abraham vetustissimo se originem ducere. "An vero baptizatus sit, nescitur. Certum est eum non "esse Pharisæum; quia non credit resurrectionem mortuo- "rum, quoniam vivit perinde atque cum corpore sit totus "periturus. Usque ad insaniam iracundus est, quavis oc- "casione furens; impotentis arrogantiæ, avaritiæ inexple- "bilis, nefandæ libidinis, et immodicæ summum gloriæ "mancipium; quamquam mollior quam qui possit elabo- "rato stilo gloriam parare, et pejor quam qui vel cone- "tur in argumento honesto." *Luther. ap. Seckend. lib. i.* p. 125.

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at Motta in the duchy of Concordia, and is said to have deduced his origin from the ancient counts of Landro.(a) He was born in the year 1480, and at thirteen years of age repaired to Venice, where he received instructions from Benedetto Brugnolo, and afterwards from Petronello di Rimini. A long and dangerous illness compelled him to return to his native place. On his recovery he paid a visit to the academy at Pordenone, where Paolo Amalteo read lectures explanatory of the ancient authors, with great credit to himself and before a numerous train of auditors. After a second visit to Venice, Aleandro again returned to Motta, where he challenged Domenico Plorio the public instructor

(a) *Aleandro*, quasi detto *a Landro*. *v. Seckendorf, lib.* i. *p.* 149. *and Mazzuchelli, vol.* i. *p.* 409. Aleandro thought it necessary to vindicate himself against the calumnies respecting his birth. In his speech against Luther before the diet of the German empire, he exclaims, "Deum "immortalem! multi hic sunt boni viri, quibus notus sum, "ego et familia mea, et asserere ego vere possum, majores "meos *Marchiones* in Istria fuisse; quod vero parentes "meos ad inopiam redacti sunt, fato tribui debet. Quod "si maxime *Judæus* fuissem sed baptismum suscepissem, "rejici propterea non deberem; Christus enim et Apos-"toli Judæi fuerunt." *Aleand. Orat. ap. Seckend. lib.* i. *p.* 149.

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structor of that place to a literary contest, in which Aleandro demonstrated so effectually the ignorance of his opponent, that he was by general consent elected in his stead. After having taught successively at Venice and at Padua, his reputation reached the Roman court, and Alexander VI. determined to call him to that city and appoint him secretary to his son Cæsar Borgia. Accordingly, in the year 1501, Aleandro took up his residence with the papal nuncio Angelo Leonino bishop of Tivoli, at Venice. Whilst he was preparing for his journey, the pope, who had been informed that Aleandro was no less distinguished by his talents for public affairs than for his learning, directed him to repair to Hungary as his envoy. Aleandro set out from Venice in the beginning of the year 1502; but being attacked by sickness, he was detained many months on the road, and was at length obliged to abandon the expedition and return to Venice. The death of the pontiff happening soon afterwards, Aleandro was freed from the cares of public life and devoted himself with fresh ardour to his studies.(a) Such was

(a) Seckendorf asserts, that Aleandro had been private secretary

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was the reputation which he had acquired before the twenty-fourth year of his age, that Aldo Manuzio dedicated to him his edition of the Iliad of Homer, alleging as a reason for conferring on him this honour, that his acquirements were beyond those of any other person with whom he was acquainted; a compliment which is enhanced by the consideration that Aldo was acquainted with almost all the learned men of the age.*(a)* At Venice

secretary to Cæsar Borgia, and composed a part of the Roman court, under Alexander VI. "Olim famosissimi "Cæsaris illius Borgiæ seu Ducis Valentini secretarius fue- "rat; famulus hero dignus, et pars aulæ Romanæ sub Alex- "andro VI." *De Lutheranismo. lib. i. p.* 125. But from the narrative of Mazzuchelli, who derived his information from an authentic MS. diary of the life of Aleandro, it appears that he never was at Rome until after the death of that pontiff.

(a) From this dedication we learn, that Aleandro was not only a perfect master of the Greek and Hebrew, but had applied himself with great diligence to the acquisition of the Arabic and Chaldaic tongues. "Tu enim nondum quar- "tum et vigisimum annum agens, et humanorum studio- "rum utriusque linguæ doctissimus; nec minus Hebraicam "calles, nuncque et Chaldeæ et Arabicæ tanto incumbis stu- "dio, ut quinque te habentem corda brevi sint homines ad- "miraturi;

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nice Aleandro formed an intimate acquaintance with Erasmus; and these two eminent men resided together for some time in the house of the printer Andrea d'Asola, the father-in-law of Aldo, where Aleandro assisted Erasmus in publishing a more full and correct edition of his *Adagia* from the Aldine press.*(a)* In the contests to which the reformation gave rise, Erasmus and Aleandro adopted a different course of conduct; but although they attacked each other with sufficient asperity, Erasmus always candidly acknowledged the great talents and uncommon learning of his former friend.*(b)*

" miraturi; nam tria, ut olim grandis de se Ennius dixit, " tu hac ratione vel nunc habes. Tanta præterea linguæ " volubilitate verba Græca pronuntias, tantaque aptitudine " et facilitate inspiras Hebraica, ac si mediis Athenis, me- " diaque Israelitarum Urbe, quo stabant tempore, natus et " educatus esses."

(a) The first edition of Paris, 1500, was very defective, that of Aldo is very correct, and was published in the year 1508.

(b) Erasmus having been informed that some person had preferred Aleandro in all respects to himself, thus candidly and magnanimously replies: " Etiamsi nominasses " istum

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In the year 1508, Aleandro was invited to Paris by Louis XII. to fill the place of a professor in the university of that city. His exertions there met with the highest applause, and he was shortly afterwards appointed rector of that famous seminary, contrary to the express tenor of its statutes, which were dispensed with in favour of so extraordinary a scholar.(a) After residing there some years, he was induced to quit that city by his apprehensions of the plague, and proceeding through different parts of France, he gave public lectures on the Greek language at Orleans, Blois, and other places. At length he took up his residence at Liege, where the prince-bishop

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" istum qui Aleandrum Erasmo præfert in omnibus, nihil " erat periculi; nam et ipse plurimum tribuere soleo Ale- " andro, præsertim in literis, nihiloque magis me lædi puto " si doctior est, quam quod dilior est, et formosior; nisi " forte me tam invidum existimant, ut ægre laturus sim, si " quis me sit sanctior. Aleander, si amicus est, ego certe " hominis ingenium amo; mihi quoque privatim gratulor, " meum esse ducens, quod habet amicus. Sin parum ami- " cus, tamen gratulor publicis studiis; nam spes est illum " aliquando divitem istum eruditionis thesaurum orbi com- " municaturum." *Erasmi Ep.* 1524.

(a) *Jod. Badius, Dedicat. Plutarch. ad Aleand. ap. Mazzuch.* i. 413.

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bishop of that city, Everard della Marca, nominated him a canon of his cathedral and appointed him chancellor of his diocese; employments which did not, however, prevent Aleandro from giving instructions in the Greek tongue, which he continued to do there for two years with distinguished success.(a) About the middle of the year 1517, he was dispatched to Rome by his patron, who was eager to obtain the dignity of a cardinal, and who conceived that he might avail himself of the talents of Aleandro to accomplish his purpose. The reception which the learned envoy experienced from Leo X. was such as might have been expected.(b) The pontiff confessed that he had never before met with his equal, and requested the prince-bishop would permit Aleandro to quit his service and enter into that of the Roman church.

(a) *Mazzuchelli, Scrittori d' Ital,* i. 413.

(b) "Siquidem Pontifex ille Maximus, hoc judicio, "hac literatura, hac rerum experientia, hac augusta dig- "nitate, ultro te in amicitiam invitarit, acceperit, inter- "que familiarissimos statim asciverit. Sed cur ille non "ascisceret? qui parem a te sibi inventum esse fatere- "tur neminem," *And. Asolan, in dedicat. Galeni. ap. Mazzuch.* i. 414.

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The bishop was not disposed to refuse a request which was an earnest of his own success. Aleandro was first appointed secretary to the cardinal Giulio de' Medici, an office at that time of the highest trust; and in the year 1519, was nominated by a papal bull librarian of the Vatican. He did not, however, forget his former patron; and notwithstanding the many difficulties with which he had to contend, he continued his exertions, as well at Rome as on his mission into Germany, until he succeeded in obtaining for the prince-bishop his long expected dignity.*(a)*

On the embassy of Aleandro to the imperial diet in the year 1520, his conduct drew down upon him the censure and abuse, not only of the more earnest reformers, but of his former friend Erasmus, who condemned the violence of his zeal with great asperity.*(b)* After the death of Leo X. Aleandro rose to high

(a) Pallavicini, Concil. di Trento, lib. i. *cap.* 23.

(b) Of the alternate dissensions and reconciliations of Erasmus and Aleandro, Mazzuchelli has given a long and interesting account. *v. Scrittori d' Ital.* i. 415. *(note* 51.*)*

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high dignity in the church. By Clement VII. he was nominated archbishop of Brindisi and Oria, and was appointed apostolic nuncio to Francis I. whom he attended in that capacity at the battle of Pavia in 1525. He there met with a disaster similar to that of the French monarch; having been made prisoner by the Spaniards; and obtained his release only by the interference of powerful friends and the payment of a considerable ransom.(a) After having performed several other important embassies; and taken a principal part for many years in the transactions of the Roman court, Aleandro was, in the year 1538, raised to the rank of a cardinal by Paul III. on which occasion he resigned his office of librarian and was succeeded by Agostino Steuco, afterwards bishop of Chissano in the island of Candia.(b) The death of Aleandro, which Jovius informs us was occasioned or accelerated by the too frequent use of medicine,

(a) Aleandro was at the side of the monarch when he was made prisoner, insomuch that, when the horse of the king fell, he touched that of Aleandro. A particular account of the capture and liberation of Aleandro is given by Girolamo Negri. *Lettere di Principi.* i. 159.

(b) *Mazzuchelli, vol.* i. *p.* 419.

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cine, and too curious an attention to his health,(a) happened at Rome in the year 1542, when he had nearly completed his sixty-second year. The same author asserts, that Aleandro displayed in his last moments great impatience, and was highly exasperated at the idea of being cut off before he had finished the sixty-third year of his age. In this case we may, however, be allowed to doubt the account of the impiety of a Roman cardinal, although related by a Roman bishop. At least such account is in express contradiction to the Greek epitaph, which Aleandro composed for himself a short time before his death.(b)

The

(a) "Pervasurus haud dubie ad exactam ætatem, nisi "nimia tuendæ valetudinis solicitudine, intempestivis medi- "camentis sibi hercle insanus et infelix medicus, viscera "corrupisset." Baillet misunderstood this passage, and informs us in his *Jugemens des Sçavans*, *No.* 1273, that Aleandro died by the stupidity of his physician, *par la bêtise de son médecin.*

(b) This epitaph concluded with the following lines:

Κάτθανον οὐκ ἄεικων, ὅτι παύσομαι ὢν ἁπιμάρτυς
Πολλῶν, ὥνπερ ἰδιῖν ἄλγιον ἦν θανάτῳ.

Without

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The writings which remain of Aleandro, are scarcely equal to what might have been expected from his acknowledged learning, great eloquence, and uncommon industry. The Greek lexicon published under his name at Paris, in 1512, was compiled by six of his scholars, and the only share which he took was in correcting the ultimate proofs from the press, and adding some words omitted in former collections.*(a)* In the same year he reprinted the Greek grammar of Chrysoloras, of which he also made a compendium.*(b)* His treatise *De Concilio habendo*, consisting of four

---

Without reluctance I resign my breath,
To shun the sight of what is worse than death.

In which it may be doubted, whether he meant to refer to the rapid progress of the reformation, or to the licentiousness and scandalous abuses of the Roman court under Paul III.

(a) Entitled, LEXICON *Græco-Latinum operâ Hieronymi Aleandri, industria et impendio proborum virorum Ægidii Gourmontii et Matthæi Bolseci Bibliopolarum Parisiensium*, 1512, *ad eidus Decembres. fo.* This work is now very rare.

(b) Entitled, *Hieronymi Aleandri Mottensis Tabulæ sane utiles Græcarum Musarum adyta compendio ingredi volentibus.* It has been frequently reprinted.

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four books, is said to have been of great use in regulating the proceedings of the council of Trent. Erasmus believed Aleandro to have been the author of the oration published under the name of Julius Cæsar Scaliger, as an answer to his *Ciceronianus*, in the year 1531, and some years elapsed before he could be convinced that it was the work of the celebrated scholar whose name it bears.*(a)* That so little remains of the writings of Aleandro, may perhaps be attributed to his various important avocations and active life; but Jovius informs us that he had so long indulged himself in a certain extemporaneous mode of expression, that when he attempted to exercise himself in well regulated composition, he found himself unable to support a clear and elegant style; and Valeriano, whilst he acknowledges the intrinsic value of his writings, has in an elegant allegory taxed them with obscurity.

(a) "Julius Scaliger edidit in me orationem impudentissimis mendaciis ac furiosis conviciis refertam; cujus tamen ipsum non esse auctorem, multis ac certis argumentis compertum habeo." *Erasm. ap. Mazz.* i. 416. "Juli Scaligeri libellum tam scio illius (Aleandri) esse, quam scio me vivere," &c. *Ibid.*

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ty.(a) A few of the letters and poems of Aleandro have been preserved in various collections, and his Latin verses, *Ad Julium et Neæram*, are considered by Fontanini as affording alone a sufficient proof of the great talents of their author.(b)

Other libraries in Rome.

The example of Leo X. in collecting the precious remains of ancient learning, was emulated or imitated by several distinguished prelates of the Roman court, the extent of whose collections resembled that of a munificent sovereign, rather than of a private individual. Aleandro had himself formed a very considerable library, which he bequeathed to the monastery of S. Maria del Orto in Venice. It was afterwards transferred to the canons of S. Georgio, of which congregation Aleandro had been protector; and has since contributed to increase the celebrated library of

(a) *Ad Hieronymum Aleandrum, ne sit in scriptis tantus obscuritatis amator. Carm. illustr. Poet. Ital.* x. 213.

(b) *v. Carm. illustr. Poet. Ital.* i. 114.

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of S. Marco at Venice.(a) Erasmus, in a letter written from London, in the year 1515, mentions the library of cardinal Grimani at Rome, as being richly furnished and abounding in books in all languages. This extensive collection, consisting of upwards of eight thousand volumes, was bequeathed by the cardinal, in the year 1523, to the regular canons of S. Salvador in Venice. It was afterwards increased by the addition of many valuable works by the cardinal patriarch Marino Grimani, and was preserved until nearly the end of the seventeenth century, when it was unfortunately destroyed by fire.(b) Equally extensive and equally unfortunate was the library of cardinal Sadoleti. After having escaped from the sacrilegious hands of the barbarians during the sacking of Rome, in the year 1527, the books were put on board a ship to be conveyed to the diocese of Sadoleti in France; but on the arrival of the vessel, it was discovered that the passengers were

(a) *Mazzuchelli, Scrittori d' Ital. vol.* i. *p.* 420. *nota* 88.

(b) *Tirab. Storia della Lett. Ital. vol.* vii. *par* i. *p.* 208.

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were infected with the plague; in consequence of which they were not permitted to land, and the books were either lost or carried to some distant country, where Sadoleti never heard of them more.(a) The library of Bembo was rich in valuable manuscripts, and contained many of the productions of the provençal poets, with whose language he was well acquainted. He possessed also several pieces in the hand-writing of Petrarca, with other rare and valuable works, as well printed as manuscript, which he had collected at an immense expense. Many of these were afterwards united with the ducal library of Urbino, whence they have since been transferred to that of the Vatican. Amongst them were the two ancient copies of Virgil and of Terence, which have been justly esteemed the chief ornaments of that immense collection.(b)

Historians in the time of Leo X.

Before the French under Charles VIII. had burst the barrier of the Alps, the Italian scholars had already begun to examine with great industry

(a) *Tirab. Storia della Lett. Ital. vol.* vii. *par.* i. *p.* 208, *&c.*

(b) *Tirab. ut sup.*

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industry the transactions of former times, and to record those of their own with accuracy and fidelity; of this, the history of his own times by Leonardo Aretino, that of Florence by Poggio Bracciolini, that of Venice by Marc-Antonio Cocchi called Sabellicus, and that of Milan by Bernardo Corio, may be admitted as sufficient proofs. The important transactions which had since taken place in Italy, and the increasing interest which these great events had excited, now called forth more distinguished talents; and the historical and political writings of Machiavelli, of Nardi, of Nerli, and of Guicciardini, have not only transmitted to us with great minuteness the events of the age in which they lived, but have frequently furnished us with such reasonings and deductions from them, as have been found applicable to subsequent occurrences and to future times.

Machiavelli.

Of the principal incidents in the life of Machiavelli, some account has already been given in the course of the present work.(a) That

(a) *v. Chap.* vi. *vol.* i. *p.* 478. *chap.* ix. *vol.* ii. *p.* 211, *chap.* x. *vol.* ii. *p.* 257, *&c.* In the first of these places

That he was a man of talents is apparent, not only from his writings, but from the important offices

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places I have charged Machiavelli with having had a share in the contrivance of the atrocious stratagem by which Cæsar Borgia destroyed Vitelli, the Duke of Gravina, and others, at Sinigallia, in the year 1502. But the further perusal of the letters of Machiavelli, has induced me to modify this opinion, and enabled me precisely to state the part which he had in this black transaction. By a letter from him to the magistrates of Florence, dated the first of January, 1502, (but which should be 1503, the Florentines having, until the year 1750, continued the date of the year to the twenty-fifth of March) it appears that Borgia had communicated his intentions to Machiavelli, the day before the perpetrating of the deed; and that Machiavelli had not taken any measures to prevent it, either by expostulating with Borgia or apprizing the parties devoted to destruction; so that according to the laws of this country he stands in the predicament of what is called an *accessary before the fact*. It is true he gives us to understand that he was not apprized of the whole of the intentions of Borgia; but the manner in which he speaks of the transaction afterwards, sufficiently proves that he would not have shrunk from a fuller participation of the crime. His words are, "Chiamommi (Borgia) dipoi "circa due ore di notte, e colla migliore cera del mondo si "*rallegrò meco* di questo successo; dicendo *avermene par-* "*lato il dì d' avanti*, ma non iscoperto *il tutto*, come era "vero." In the same letter he proceeds, according to the desire of Borgia, to congratulate the Republic on this event, and to represent the advantages which would arise from their union, &c. *v. Lettere di Machiav. in op. vol.* iii. *p.* 73. *Ed. Baretti. Lond.* 1772.

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offices which he filled; having been for some years secretary to the republic, and frequently dispatched on embassies to foreign powers. Whether prompted by the love of liberty, or the spirit of faction, he displayed a restless and turbulent disposition, which not only diminished the respect due to his abilities, but frequently endangered his personal safety. Besides his having engaged in the conspiracy of Capponi and Boscoli, in consequence of which he had to suffer four jerks of the cord, and from which he only escaped with his life by the clemency of Leo X.*(a)* he entered into another plot immediately after the death of that pontiff, to expel the cardinal de' Medici from Florence; in which his associates were Luigi Alamanni, Zanobio Buondelmonte, and other young men who frequented the gardens of the Rucellai. That he had also to struggle with pecuniary difficulties appears from several passages in his works; and a letter written by his son Pietro on the death of his father, in the month of June, 1527, acknowledges that he died in extreme poverty.*(b)*

The

(a) Bandin. Monum. inedit. in præf. p. 35.

(b) " Non posso far di meno di piangere in dovervi " dire

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The prose writings of Machiavelli consist of his history of Florence in eight books, his discourses on Livy, and his book entitled, *Il Principe*, or, "The Prince," with some smaller treatises. His history, which comprehends the transactions of the Florentine state, from its origin to the death of Lorenzo the Magnificent in 1492, is written in a vigorous, concise, and unaffected style, and although not always accurate in point of fact, may upon the whole be read with both pleasure and advantage.*(a)* He has, however, rendered himself much more conspicuous by his political tracts, which have, indeed, in the general estimation, entitled

His history of Florence.

" dire come è morto il dì 22 di questo mese Niccolò nostro " padre, di dolori di ventre cagionati da un medicamento " preso il dì 20. Lasciossi confessare le sue peccata da " Frate Marco, che gli ha tenuta compagnia fino a morte. " Il padre nostro ci ha lasciato in somma povertá, come " sapete," &c. *Lett. di P. Mach. a Francesco Nelli. ap. Tirab. vol.* vii. *par.* i. *p.* 517.

(a) It has been of late years discovered, that the Diary of the most important events in Italy from the year 1492 to 1512, published by the Giunti in 1568, under the name of Biagio Buonaccorsi, is in fact a part of the notes of Machiavelli, which he had intended for a continuation of his history; but which after his death remained in the hands of his friend Buonaccorsi. *Elog. Toscani. tom.* iii. *p.* 94.

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entitled him to the first rank among the writers on these subjects; but whilst some have considered him as having employed his talents to enlighten mankind, and to promote the cause of truth, of liberty, and of virtue, others have regarded him as the advocate of fraud, of oppression, and of assassination, and have stigmatized his memory with the most opprobrious epithets. To reconcile these discordant opinions is impossible; and it may therefore not be thought a superfluous task, to endeavour impartially to ascertain in what estimation his political writings ought to be held.

Estimate of his political writings.

On this subject it may then be remarked, that no one has hitherto been found hardy enough to defend, in their full extent, the baneful maxims advanced by Machiavelli, particularly in his treatise, entitled *Il Principe*. "If it be contended," says one of his warmest apologists, "that this work is fit for the perusal of all sovereigns, as well legitimate as "usurpers, and that he intended to give an "eulogium on tyranny, he can neither be defended nor excused. But how can it be "thought possible," continues he, "that Machiavelli, who was born under a republic, "who was employed as one of its secretaries, "who performed so many important embas-

"sies,

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"sies, and who in his conversation always "dwelt on the glorious actions of Brutus and "of Cassius, should have formed such a de- "sign?"(a) Hence it has frequently been urged on his behalf, that it was not his intention to suggest wise and faithful counsels, but to represent in the darkest colours the conduct which a sovereign must necessarily pursue, in order to support his authority. "It was the "intention of Machiavelli," says another encomiast, "to describe a destructive tyrant; "and by these means to excite odium against "him and prevent the execution of his pro- "jects."(b) "Our thanks are due to Machia- "velli," says Lord Bacon, "and to similar "writers, who have openly and without dis- "simulation, shewn us what men are accus- "tomed to do, not what they ought to do."(c)

(a) *Elogii Toscani. tom.* iii. *p.* 89.

(b) "Conatus Scriptoris (Machiavelli) est certum ali- "quem Tyrannum patriæ infestum describere, eoque pacto "partim populare odium in eum commovere, partim artes "ejus impedire." *Gasp. Schioppii, Pædia Politices. ap. Elog. Tosc.* iii. 90.

(c) "Est itaque quod gratias agamus Machiavello, et "hujusmodi scriptoribus, qui aperte et indissimulanter pro- "ferunt quid homines facere soleant, non quid debeant." *De Augm. Scient. lib.* vii. *in op. tom.* iii. *p.* 137. *Ed* 1753. *fo.*

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The validity of these and similar apologies is, however, extremely questionable. Those principles and rules of conduct on which the tranquillity of mankind so essentially depends, are too sacred to be treated in ambiguous terms, and Machiavelli frequently displays so much apparent sincerity in his political writings, as renders it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to decide when he intends to be ironical. Nor have the friends of this author, who have supposed that in his treatise *del Principe* he meant only to instigate his patron Lorenzo duke of Urbino to his ruin, conferred any honour either on his moral or intellectual character. If, indeed, this were his real intention, we might be inclined to assent to the opinion of cardinal Pole, that the writings of Machiavelli were traced by the finger of the devil.*(a)* But supposing the purpose of Machiavelli to have been commendable, can there be

(a) "Statim autem quidnam de eo libro *(Il Principe)* "sibi visum fuisset, aperiens, eum ab hoste humani generis "scriptum declarat, in quo omnia hostis consilia explicen- "tur, et modi quibus religio, pietas, et omnes virtutis in- "doles evertantur, ac proinde, etsi hominis nomen et sty- "lum præ se ferat, vix tamen cœpisse eum se legere, quin "Satanæ digito scriptum agnosceret." *Card. Quirini Diatrib. in Poli. Op. tom.* i. *p.* 264.

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be a greater solecism in point of judgment, than to instigate a person to tyrannise over a country, to be cruel to his own subjects and faithless to the rest of the world, in the expectation of exciting a general odium against cruelty, fraud, and oppression? and thus introducing a certain evil for the purpose of applying to it a dubious remedy? We may, however, safely release this author from an accusation, for which he has been indebted solely to the over-earnest zeal of his advocates, and may certainly admit that whatever may be thought of the rectitude of his maxims, he was at least serious in his promulgation of them. Many of the most exceptionable doctrines in his *Principe* are also to be found in his *Discorsi*, where it cannot be pretended that he had any indirect purpose in view; and in the latter he has in some instances referred to the former for the further elucidation of his opinions.*(a)* Nor is it a slight proof of the sincerity of Machiavelli, that his work was recommended by his intimate friend Biagio Buonaccorsi as a grave and useful performance.*(b)* This, indeed,

(a) Compare his *Discorsi*, *lib.* iii. *chap.* 42, and *Il Principe*, *chap.* 18.

(b) Thus he writes to Pandolfo Bellucci, "Sendomi tu "non

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indeed, seems to have been the general opinion at the time of its publication. Neither Adrian VI. nor Clement VII. passed any censure on his writings, and the latter not only accepted the dedication of his history, which Machiavelli wrote at his request, but granted the Roman printer Antonio Blado, a papal bull for the publication of all the writings of Machiavelli, in which the *Principe* is particularly mentioned.

Taking it then for granted that Machiavelli has in his political works fairly represented his own sentiments, how are his merits to be appreciated? Machiavelli was an acute man; but not a great man. He could minutely trace a political intrigue through all its ramifications, but he could not elevate his views to perceive that true policy and sound morality

" non solo amico, ma protectore, ti mando l' operetta com-
" posta nuovamente *de' Principati* dal nostro Nicolò Machi-
" avelli, nella quale tu troverai con somma dilucidazione e
" brevità descritto tutte le qualità de Principati, tutti i modi
" a conservargli, tutte le offese di essi, con una esatta noti-
" zia delle Storie antiche e moderne, e molti altri docu-
" menti utilissimi, in modo che se tu la leggerai con quella
" medesima attenzione che tu suoi le altre cose, sono cer-
" tissimo ne troverai non piccola utilità," &c. *Bandin. Monumen. ined. in præf. p.* 37.

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lity are inseparably united, and that every fraudulent attempt is then most unfortunate when it is crowned with success. To obtain a political end by the violation of public faith, is a stratagem that requires no great talents, but which will not bear to be frequently repeated. Like the tricks of a juggler, the petty routine of these operations is quickly understood, and the operator himself is soon on a level with the rest of mankind. Those who like Machiavelli have examined human conduct only in detail, must ever be at a loss to reconcile the discordant facts, and to distinguish the complicated relations of public and national concerns. It is only by tracing them up to some common source, and adjusting them by some certain standard, that past events can ever be converted into proper rules of future conduct. To recall the examples of ancient and modern history for the imitation of future times, is a mode of instruction which, without proper limitations and precautions, will often be found highly dangerous. Such is the variety in human affairs, that in no two instances are the circumstances in all respects alike, and on that account experience without principles must ever be a fallacious guide. To close our eyes to the examples

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examples of past ages, would, indeed, be absurd; but to regulate our conduct by them without bringing them to their proper test, would be still more so. With these considerations the works of Machiavelli may be read with advantage, and his errors may perhaps prove no less instructive than his excellences.*(a)*

Filippo de' Nerli.

Whilst the history of Machiavelli relates to the general transactions of Florence, that of the senator Filippo de' Nerli, is restricted to its municipal and internal concerns. The family of Nerli had for several centuries ranked among the principal nobility of that city,

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(a) Of the poetical writings of Machiavelli in his native tongue, several pieces remain, which are distinguished rather by vigour and conciseness of expression, than by poetical ornament. It has been doubted whether Machiavelli was a man of learning; but one of these pieces, entitled, *Capitolo dell' Occasione*, sufficiently shews that he was not unacquainted with the works of the ancients. This poem will be found in the appendix to the present volume, where the reader may compare it with a Greek epigram of Posidippus, and a Latin one of Ausonius, of which it seems to be a near imitation. I have there also given a translation into English, although it has before appeared in a periodical work. *v. Appendix, No. CCII.*

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city,(a) and several of its members were no less distinguished as eminent patrons of learning, than as accomplished statesmen. The marriage of Tanai de' Nerli, who had twice filled the office of chief magistrate of Florence, with a niece of the celebrated Piero Capponi, was productive of five sons, all of whom arrived at considerable eminence. Jacopo and Francesco were frequently honoured with the most important offices of the state, and the latter became the father of two sons who were successively archbishops of Florence and cardinals of the church. Bernardo and Neri de' Nerli, have left a noble monument of their munificence and love of literature, in publishing at their own expense the first edition of the writings of Homer, printed at Florence in the year 1488; a work which confers honour not only on its patrons and on the eminent Greek scholars who superintended the printing,

(a) Dante, in relating the simplicity and parsimony of the Florentines, exemplifies them in two of their noblest families, the *Nerli* and the *Vecchi*.

" E vidi quel di Nerli, e quel del Vecchio,
" Esser contenti alla pelle scoverta,
" E le sue donne al fuso, ed al pennecchio."

Il Paradiso, cant. XV.

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ing, but on the age and country in which it was produced.(a) This great work was inscribed

(a) This edition was carefully corrected, and the printing superintended by the learned Greek Demetrius Chalcondyles. At the close of the work we read;

Ἡ τῦ Ὁμήρυ ποίησις ἅπασα ἐντυπωθεῖσα πειρας ἔλαβεν ἤδη σὺν Θεῶ ἐν Φλωρεντία, ἀναλώμασι μὲν τῶν εὐγενῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ περὶ λόγυς ἑλληνικὰς σπυδαίων Βερνάρδυ καὶ Νηρίυ Ταναίδος τῦ Νερλίυ Φλωρεντίνοιν· πόνω δὲ καὶ δεξιότητι Δημητρίυ Μεδιολανέως κρητὸς, τῶν λογίων ἀνδρῶν χαρίν καὶ λόγων ἑλληνικῶν ἱφιεμένων· Ἔτει τῶ ἀπὸ τῆς χριςῦ γεννήσεως χιλιοςῶ πεντακοσιοςῶ ὀγδοηκοςῶ ἑνάτῃ· Μηνὸς Δεκεμβρίυ ἑνάτῃ·

Maittaire speaks of the execution of this edition in the highest terms. "Quicquid hactenus in Græca typographia "præstitum fuerat, nihil erat nisi velitationes quædam et "præludia sive προγυμνάσματα, si cum illo, quod interim "*Florentia* moliebatur, opere conferantur. Quid enim "tenuis manipulus ad plenam messem, &c. Operoso hoc "et præstantissimo Homeri inter omnes poetas Principis "volumine duobus tomis comprehenso, orbem eruditum, "anno 1488, donavit Florentia; quæ, dum aliæ urbes in "limine et initiis tantum, conatibus adhuc immaturis, sub"sisterent, primo et uno, sed ingenti gravique molimine, ad "ipsum culmen voluit pervenire, vetuitque quicquam re"linqui, quo superari posset. Editione illâ, si chartæ so"lidæ colorem et pompam, si nitidam characterum figuram, "æquata marginum intervalla, justam linearum distantiam, "totum denique impressionis ordinem et dispositionem "spectes, nil certè aut ante aut postea elegantius compa"ruit,"

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ed by Bernardo de' Nerli to Piero de' Medici, the elder brother of Leo X. in a Latin address, in which he explains the motives of the undertaking and the means adopted for carrying it into effect. Benedetto de' Nerli, the eldest of these five brothers, supported the rank of his family on many public occasions, and in particular was one of the ambassadors appointed by the state of Florence to congratulate Leo X. on his elevation to the pontificate. Filippo the historian, the son of Benedetto,

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" ruit." *Maittaire Annal. Typogr. tom.* i. *p.* 49. The merits of these illustrious brothers are thus recognised by the learned Heyne, *Hom. op. tom.* iii. *p.* 4. " Juvenum " horum nobilissimorum nomen ac memoria ad omnem pos- " teritatem cara et grata esse debet, qui suis sumtibus tan- " tum inceptum ad effectum perduxerunt. Quam genero- " sioris indolis testis hæc liberalitas est habenda, quanto illa " illustrior et salubrior, quam ea, quæ in vanam ostentatio- " nem opes a majoribus partas prodige et temere effundit! " Salvete Juvenes nobiles, et generosi, χαίρετέ μοι—καὶ εἶν " Ἀίδαο δόμοισι!" I must observe, that in denominating Bernardo, *Nerlius seu Nerius*, the learned editor has been led into a slight error by the similarity of the family and baptismal name of Neri de' Nerli, one of the brothers, " In præf. " fronte *Nerlius*, mox iterum *Nerius*." *De Editionibus Hom. in op. tom.* iii. *p.* 4. but in the Greek passage which he afterwards cites from the preface of Chalcondyles, these brothers are named Βέρναρδος καὶ Νέρις τῶ Νηριλίω; *Bernardo and Neri de' Nerli.*

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Benedetto, was born in the year 1485. His education was superintended by Benedetto, called *Il Filologo*, who had been a disciple of Politiano and is highly commended by Crinitus.*(a)* In his youth he frequented the gardens of the Rucellai, where he formed an intimacy with the most distinguished scholars of Florence, and in particular with Machiavelli, who inscribed to him his *Capitolo dell' occasione*. But whilst his early associates warmly opposed the increasing power of the Medici, Filippo became one of their most strenuous partisans, and was frequently employed by them in important services, until the establishment of an absolute government under Cosmo I. finally terminated the contest. After this event he obtained in an eminent degree the confidence of this cautious prince, who successively intrusted to him the government of several of the Florentine districts, and on the assumption to the pontificate of Julius III. appointed him the chief of a splendid embassy to congratulate the pontiff, who on that occasion conferred on him the title of cavalier

(a) Benedetto corrected and published several of the works of the ancient writers, and among the rest, the edition of Horace, printed by the Giunti at Florence, in 1514, which he dedicated to Filippo de' Nerli.

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cavalier with that of count palatine.(a) He had married in the year 1509, Caterina the daughter of Jacopo Salviati by his wife Lucrezia the sister of Leo X. and lived until the year 1556, leaving at his death a numerous offspring. His Commentaries comprise a well-arranged and useful narrative of the internal concerns of the Florentine state,(b) written in the style of a person conversant with public affairs, and not with the laboured eloquence of a professed author. That they manifest a decided partiality to the family of the Medici, has been considered as their chief excellence by the apologists of an absolute government in subsequent times;(c) but, however meritorious the purpose

(a) *Vita del Senatore Filippo de' Nerli. in fronte a' suoj Commentarj.*

(b) These Commentaries were not published until the year 1728, when they were given to the public by the cavalier Settimani (to whom we are also indebted for the works of *Segni*, and of *Varchi*) under the following title:

COMMENTARJ *de' fatti civili occorsi dentro la Città di Firenze, dall' anno MCCXV. al MDXXXVII. Scritti dal Senatore* FILIPPO DE' NERLI *Gentiluomo Fiorentino. In Augusta*, 1728. *in fo.*

(c) *Elogio del Sen. Filippo de' Nerli. Elog. Toscani, vol.* ii. *p.* 319.

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purpose may be, it must be admitted that a work avowedly written to promote a particular object can never be perused without distrust, nor relied on without collateral evidence for the facts which it records.

Jacopo Nardi.

To the life and writings of Nerli, those of his contemporary and countryman Jacopo Nardi exhibit almost a complete contrast. Nerli enjoyed a long series of honours and prosperity; Nardi was a fugitive and an exile. The former availed himself of his adherence and services to the Medici, to maintain himself in authority and importance; the latter was their decided and implacable adversary, and his history is allowed to be as hostile to that family, as the *Commentaries* of Nerli are favourable. The birth of Nardi, who also derived his origin from a noble family at Florence, is placed in the year 1476, and although the time of his death be not precisely known, it is highly probable that he lived beyond his eightieth year.*(a)* In his early

(a) In a letter written to Benedetto Varchi, dated the thirteenth of July, 1555, he says, "Io sono ancora sano, "benchè debole, avendo a cominciare col mio bastoncello a "dì 21, del presente mese, a salire la faticosa erta del otto-"gesimo anno di questa mia male spesa vita." *Tirab. Storia della Let. Ital.* vii. *par.* ii. *p.* 981.

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early progress he had filled many honourable employments in the state, and in the year 1527 was ambassador from his native place to the Venetian republic. His history of Florence, which extends from the year 1494 to 1531, bears the marks of great accuracy, and is not without some share of elegance, but like that of Nerli, must be read with caution by those who would form an impartial judgment on the important events which occurred within that period.(a) Nardi was a man of uncommon learning, and his translation of Livy, which has been several times reprinted, is yet considered as one of the best versions of the ancient authors in the Italian language.(b) In his youth he distinguished himself as a soldier, and in his life of the celebrated commander Antonio Tebalducci Malespini, he has shewn that he had himself acquired great knowledge and experience in military concerns.(c) He was the author of several other works both in verse and

(a) *Le Historie della Città di Fiorenza di M. Jacopo Nardi, Cittadino Fiorentino. Lione*, 1580, 4*to*.

(b) "Essa è sempre stata considerata come una delle "migliori che abbia la nostra Lingua." *Tirab. Storia della Let. Ital.* vii. *par.* ii. *p.* 280.

(c) *Vita d' Antonio Giacomino Tebalducci Malespini, Scritta da Jacopo Nardi. In Fiorenza*, 1597, 4*to*.

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and prose. His comedy, entitled *L'Amicizia*, written by him whilst very young, has already been referred to, as having some pretensions, from its introductory lines, to be considered as having given the first example of the *versi sciolti*, or Italian blank verse.*(a)*

Francesco Guicciardini.

The local narratives of Machiavelli, of Nerli, and of Nardi, must, however, give place in point of interest and importance to the more general history of the immortal Guicciardini; a work which professes to record only the events of Italy, but which in fact comprehends those of the principal states of Europe during the period to which it relates. This distinguished ornament of his country was the son of Piero Guicciardini, who, although a citizen of Florence, derived from his ancestors the title of count palatine, which had been conferred on them by the emperor Sigismund in the early part of the fifteenth century.*(b)* He was born in the year 1482, and received the baptismal

(a) v. ante, chap. xvi. *vol.* iii. *p.* 346. His verses sung during the splendid exhibitions at Florence, in the year 1514, have already been given from the Canti Carnascialeschi, and are among the best in that collection. *v. App. No. CXVI.*

(b) Manni, Eloge. di Guicciardini. Eloge. Toscan. ii. 306.

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tismal name of *Francesco Tomaso*, the latter of which appellations he omitted in his riper years. After having attained a sufficient share of classical learning, he applied himself to the study of the civil law under the most eminent professors, as well at Pisa, Ferrara, and Padua, as in his native place. He had at one time formed the intention of devoting himself to the church, but his father not having encouraged the design, he changed his views, and having obtained the degree of doctor of civil law in the academy which had been transferred from Pisa to Florence, he was appointed in the year 1505, to read and illustrate the Institute of Justinian; by which, as well as by his opinions on questions of law, he gained great credit. The first office of importance in which he was employed by the republic, was that of ambassador to Ferdinand of Spain, in the year 1512. On this mission, which in respect to his well known talents, was intrusted to him before he was of sufficient age, according to the established rules of the state, he was absent about two years, and on his return was honoured by the king with a present of several rich pieces of silver plate.(a) When Leo X. paid a visit to Florence,

(a) *Manni, Elog. p.* 309. *& v. ante, chap.* viii. *vol.* ii. *p.* 133.

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Florence, at the close of the year 1515, Guicciardini was dispatched with several of the most respectable citizens to meet him at Cortona. The reputation which he had already acquired, the propriety and gravity of his manner, and the good sense which he manifested on all occasions, soon procured him the favour of the pontiff, who in an assembly of cardinals, held on the day after his arrival at Florence, bestowed on Guicciardini the dignity of advocate of the consistory. This event may be considered as the commencement of his fortunes. Soon after the return of the pontiff to Rome he sent for Guicciardini, and after having experienced his fidelity and vigilance in several important concerns, he intrusted him in the year 1518, with the government of Modena and Reggio; which from the critical circumstances under which these places were held by the pope, was undoubtedly the most confidential employment that could have been conferred upon him. The difficulties which he experienced in the defence of these important districts, called forth those great talents with which he was endowed, and afforded him frequent opportunities of displaying the promptitude of his genius, the solidity of his judgment, and the unshaken fortitude of his mind. He continued in the service of Leo X. during the remainder of his pontificate, intrust-

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ed with the chief authority, as well in the military as civil concerns of the places in which he commanded. Nor was he less honoured by Adrian VI. and Clement VII. the latter of whom appointed him president of Romagna; which office he relinquished in the year 1526, to his brother Jacopo, when he was himself nominated to the chief command of the papal troops. In the various reforms of the Florentine government which prepared the way to the dominion of Cosmo I. Guicciardini had an important share; but soon after that event he retired to his villa at Montici, where he devoted himself to the composition of his history. He died in the year 1540, after having completed the work which has immortalized his name, but which was not published until many years after his death.(a)

(a) The history of Guicciardini was first published by his nephew Agnolo Guicciardini at Florence, *Appresso Lorenzo Torrentino*, 1561, in large folio. But this edition comprehends only the first sixteen books, and is besides defective by the omission of several passages of importance. The four additional books were published by Seth Viotti at Parma, in 1564, and the passages omitted have been published separately in the work entitled *Thuanus restitutus, sive Sylloge, &c. cum Francisci Guicciardini Paralipomenis. Amstel.* 1663.

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His History of Italy.

The historical writings of Guicciardini have not only entitled their author to the indisputable precedence of all the historians of Italy, but have placed him at least on a level with those of any age or of any country. His first great advantage is, that he was himself personally acquainted with most of the transactions which he relates and frequently acted in them an important part.(a) He also united in himself almost every qualification that is necessary for a perfect historian; a fearless impartiality, a strong and vigorous judgment, equally remote from superstition and licentiousness, and a penetration of mind that pierced through the inmost recesses of political intrigue. His narrative is full, clear, and perspicuous,

1663, This history has been frequently reprinted, but the unostentatious editions of Stoer, Geneva, 1621, 1636, in two vols, 4to, are the most complete,

(a) "We have finished the twentieth and last book "of Guicciardini's history; the most authentic I believe "(may I add, I fear) that ever was composed. I believe "it, because the historian was an actor in his terrible drama, "and personally knew the principal performers in it; and "I fear it, because it exhibits the woeful picture of society "in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries." *Sir W. Jones*, in Lord Teignmouth's Life of that great and good man, *p.* 325. *4to.*

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spicuous, and the observations to which it occasionally gives rise, are in general just, apposite, and forcible. The principal blemishes which have been attributed to him as a writer, are those of having frequently given too much importance to events of inferior consideration, and of having, in imitation of the ancient historians, assigned to several of his principal actors, orations, which although sufficiently consonant to their sentiments, were never in reality delivered.(a) If, however, the writings of all his contemporaries had perished, his works alone would have exhibited a perfect picture of the age, and must ever be regarded as the mine from which future historians must derive their richest materials. Fastidious critics and indolent readers may complain of the minuteness of his narrative, or the length of his periods, but every sentence is pregnant with thought, every paragraph teems with information, and if sometimes they do not please the ear, they always gratify the understanding. The principal defect in his history is such as is perhaps inseparable from his character as a

(a) These objections have been collected from several authors by the industrious Bayle in his *Dict.* art. Guicciardini; but have been more particularly insisted on by Foscarini, *Della Letteratura Veneziana*, i. 253.

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statesman and a soldier, and appears in his accounting for the conduct of others wholly by motives of interest and of ambition, without sufficiently adverting to the various other causes which have in all ages had a considerable influence on the affairs of mankind.*(a)*

Faullo Giovio.

Yet more extensive in its plan than the history of Guicciardini, is the history of his own times by Paullo Giovio, or *Paulus Jovius*, in which he undertook to record the most

(a) Montaigne has not only made a similar remark, but has raised an implication upon it rather unfavourable to the moral character of Guicciardini: "J'ai remarqué," says he, "que de tant d'ames et effects qu'il juge, du tant de "mouvemens et conseils, il n'en rapporte jamais un seul à "la vertu, religion, et conscience; comme si ces parties là "estoyent du tout esteintes au monde; et de toutes les ac- "tions, pour belles par apparence qu'elles soient d'elles "mesmes, il en rejecte la cause à quelque occasion vitieuse, "ou à quelque profit. Il est impossible d'imaginer, que "parmi cet infini nombre d'actions, dequoy il juge, il n'y "en ait eu quelque une produite par la voye de la raison. "Nulle corruption peut avoir saisi les hommes si univer- "sellement, que quelqu' un n'echappe a la contagion. Cela "me fait craindre qu'il y aye un peu du vice du son goust; "et peut etre advenu, qu'il ayt estimé un autre selon soy." *Essais de Montaigne. lib.* li. *chap.* x. *tom* ii. *p.* 176. *Ed. La Haye*, 1727.

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most important events which occurred during that period in every part of the world. This voluminous writer was a native of Como, and was born in the year 1483. Being early deprived of his father, he was educated under the care of his elder brother Benedetto, who was also an historical writer, and is considered by Tiraboschi as not inferior in point of merit to his younger brother.*(a)* After having studied at Padua, at Milan, and at Pavia, he obtained at the latter place the degree of doctor in medicine, and practised for some time as a physician both in Como and Milan. An early and decided propensity led him, however, to the study and composition of history. Having completed a volume, and heard of the encouragement given by Leo X. to every department

(a) Benedetto appears to have been equally conversant with science and with literature. Among his writings are, the history of Como, his native place, in which he is said to have shewn an intimate acquaintance with the study of antiquities; a treatise on the transactions and manners of the Swiss; a collection of one hundred letters; several translations from the Greek, and some specimens of Latin poetry; one of which, entitled *De Venetis Gallicum Trophæum*, has been printed without note of place or year. His brother Paullo has, with laudable gratitude, assigned him a place among the illustrious characters of the age in which he lived. *v. Elog. No.* cvi. *Iscritt. p.* 202.

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department of literature, he repaired about the year 1516 to Rome, where he met with a most favourable reception from the pontiff, who after reading before many of the cardinals a long passage from the work of Giovio, declared, that next to Livy, he had not met with a more eloquent or a more elegant writer.(a) The rank of a cavalier, with a considerable pension, was the reward bestowed by the munificent pontiff on the fortunate author. In this place Giovio formed an intimacy with the numerous men of talents whom the liberality of the pontiff had attracted to that city. Like the rest of the Roman scholars, he here devoted himself to the cultivation of Latin poetry; several of his pieces appear in the *Coryciana* and other collections, and we have already seen, that Francesco Arsilli inscribed to him his poem, *De Poetis Urbanis*. After the death of Leo he was one of the very few men of learning who obtained the favour of Adrian VI. by whom he was appointed a canon of the cathedral of Como; on condition, however, as it has been said, that he should mention the pontiff with honour

(a) *Bened. Jovii, Hist. Novocom. ap. Tirab. Storia della Lett. Ital. vol.* vii. *par.* ii. *p.* 260.

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honour in his writings.(a) Under the pontificate of Clement VII. he was yet more highly favoured, having been appointed by the pope to be one of his attendant courtiers, provided with a residence in the Vatican, and supplied with an income for the support of himself and his domestics. To these favours were afterwards added the precentorship of Como, and lastly the bishoprick of Nocera, which was the highest ecclesiastical preferment that Giovio ever obtained. During the sacking of the city of Rome in the year 1527, Giovio had secreted his history, which had been copied on vellum and elegantly bound, in a chest which contained also a considerable quantity of wrought silver, and had deposited it in the church of *S. Maria sopra Minerva.* This booty was, however, discovered by two Spanish officers, one of whom seized upon the silver, and the other, named Herrera, carried off the books. At the same time many loose sheets, supposed to have contained some portions of his history, and which

(a) *Tiraboschi*, viii. *par.* ii. *p.* 260. But the Roman editor of the work of Tiraboschi has attempted at great length to justify Adrian VI. from this imputation. *Ibid. p.* 261. *note (a) Edit. Rom.* 1784.

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which had also been deposited in the chest, were dispersed and lost. Herrera, finding that the books belonged to Giovio, brought them to him, and required to know whether he would purchase them. The unfortunate author, being wholly stripped of his property, resorted for assistance to Clement VII. who agreed to confer on Herrera, on his returning the books, an ecclesiastical benefice in Cordova, and Giovio thus regained possession of his work.*(a)* Under the pontificate of Paul III. he was desirous of exchanging his bishoprick of Nocera for that of Como his native place, but the pope refused his request; in consequence of which and of the neglect with which he conceived himself to be treated, he expressed himself respecting that pontiff with great warmth and resentment. He is said to have flattered himself, on the faith of the predictions of Luca Gaurico and other astrologers, with the hopes of obtaining the dignity of a cardinal; but like many

(a) This circumstance is alluded to by Lilio Gregorio Cyraldi, in the following lines;

" Nec Jovius Medicus vitam qui prorogat unus
" Historiis, auro et multa mercede redemptis."

Gyr. Poemat. in Op. ii. 915.

many other persons in those times, he attempted in vain to discover in the stars, the events that were to take place on earth. His favourite residence was at a beautiful villa on the banks of the lake of Como, where, notwithstanding the occasional levity of his temper and conduct, he diligently pursued his studies. Here he also formed a museum, consisting of portraits of the most illustrious characters, chiefly those of his own times, many of which were transmitted to him from various parts of the world. To each of these he affixed an inscription, or brief memoir, some of them highly favourable and others sarcastically severe.(a) About two years before his death, he quitted his retirement and took up his residence in Florence,

(a) These memoirs have frequently been printed under the title of ELOGIA DOCTORUM VIRORUM, *ab avorum memoria publicatis ingenii monumentis illustrium.* They were also translated into Italian by Hippolito Orio, of Ferrara, and published at that place, in 1552, under the following title, LE ISCRITTIONI *poste sotto le vere imagini degli huomini famosi, le quali a Como, nel Museo del Giovio si veggiono.* The portraits have also been engraved in wood, and published under the title of MUSÆI JOVIANI IMAGINES, *artifice manu ad vivum expressæ; nec minore industria Theobaldi Mulleri Marpurgensis Musis illustratæ. Basil, Ex Officina Petri Pernæ*, 1577.

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rence, where he terminated his days in the year 1552, and was buried in the church of *S. Lorenzo*, in that city.

His historical writings.

The historical works of Giovio, which are all in the Latin tongue, comprehend a very interesting period of time, and are written with great facility. His history of his own times, which commences with the descent of Charles VIII. into Italy, and extends to the year 1547, is divided into forty-five books; but six of them, from the fourth to the eleventh, comprising the period from the death of Charles VIII. to the elevation of Leo X. are wanting, and are supposed to have been lost during the unfortunate sacking of the city of Rome in the year 1527. From the eighteenth to the twenty-fifth book, another deficiency of six books occurs, which extends from the death of Leo X. to the capture of Rome, and which, as it appears from the information of Giovio himself, he was deterred from writing, by the wretched and deplorable nature of the incidents which he would have had to relate. These defects he has, however, in a great degree supplied, by his narrative of the lives of Alfonso duke of Ferrara, of the great captain Gonsalvo, of Leo X. of Adrian VI. of Ferdinando D'Avalos

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los marquis of Pescara, and of the cardinal Pompeo Colonna, all of which he has written at considerable extent.(a) On their first appearance his writings were received with great approbation; but in a short time their credit diminished, and he had the mortification to find himself alternately accused of flattery, and of malignity, and of having sacrificed his talents to servile and interested purposes. The decisions of subsequent times have not tended to exculpate him from these imputations. Girolamo Mutio asserts, that "he was the most negligent of all authors; "that his diligence was only shewn in ob- "taining the favours of the great, and that "he who gave the most was the principal "hero of his works."(b) The acute and indefatigable

(a) The other writings of Giovio are, the lives of the twelve Visconti lords and dukes of Milan; a description of the island of Great Britain, of Muscovy, of the lake of Como, and the eulogies of men who have distinguished themselves in arms. Three of the lost books of the history of Paullo Giovio, with some of the works of his brother Benedetto, have lately been discovered amongst the domestic MSS. of the count Giambattista Giovio, a descendant of the same family. *Tirab.* vii. *par.* ii. *p.* 269.

(b) *Mutio del Gentiluomo. lib.* ii. *p.* 166. *ap. Tirab.* vii. *par.* ii. *p.* 265.

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defatigable Bayle has availed himself of innumerable occasions to point out his errors, which have also afforded subjects of confutation or of reproof to many other writers. That he did not prescribe to himself any very severe rules of composition, appears from his own acknowledgments. Having on some occasion related in his writings several absurd and improbable incidents, and being admonished by one of his friends to use more caution, he observed in reply, that "it was of little im-"portance; for that when the persons then "living were no more, it would all pass for "truth." Of his levity in this respect, his letters also afford frequent instances. "You "well know," thus he writes to one of his correspondents, "that a history should be "faithful, and that matters of fact should not "be trifled with, except by a certain little "latitude, which allows all writers, by an-"cient privilege, to aggravate or extenuate "the faults of those on whom they treat, and "on the other hand to elevate or depreciate "their virtues. I should, indeed, be in a "strange situation if my friends and patrons "owed me no obligation, when I make a "piece of their coin weigh one half more "than that of the illiberal and worthless.

"You

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" You know that by this sacred privilege, I " have decorated some with rich brocade, and " have deservedly wrapt up others in coarse " dowlas. Woe to them who provoke my " anger; for if they make me the mark for " their arrows, I shall bring out my heavy ar- " tillery and try who will have the worst of " it. At all events they will die; and I shall " at least escape after death, that *ultima linea* " of all controversies."*(a)* Several other passages might be cited from his letters, in which he openly acknowledges the venality of his writings, and accounts for his temporary silence because he found no one to bribe him.*(b)* He is said to have asserted, that he had two pens, the one of iron and the other of gold, which he made use of alternately, as occasion required, and it is certain that the latter, his *penna d'oro*, is frequently mentioned in his letters.*(c)* But the greatest blemish in the writings

(a) Lettere, p. 12. *ap. Tirab.* vii. *par.* ii. *p.* 265.

(b) " Quia nemo nos conduxit; id est imperavit quic- " quam Minervæ nostræ." *Ibid.* 266.

(c) In a letter to Henry II. of France, he says, " Io " ho già temperata *la penna d'oro* col finissimo inchiostro " per scrivere in carte di lunga vita," &c. And in another

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writings of Giovio, and which has not sufficiently incurred the reprehension of his numerous critics, is the defective or perverted morality with which they abound. Of this, some instances have been given in the preceding pages, and many others might be selected from his works. The misrepresentation of a fact is often of less importance than the deduction which is drawn from it. Under the immediate influence of ambition and revenge, amidst the storm of passion and the fury of war, deeds of treachery or of atrocity have been too often committed, the perpetrators of which may have lived to repent of their crime; but it is, indeed, horrible, when the narrator of past events, in the calm retirement of his closet, attempts to vindicate the breach of moral obligation upon the pretext of temporary expedience, and gives the sanction of deliberate reason to those actions which even the impulse of passion is insufficient to justify. With all these defects, the writings of Jovius, cannot, however, be wholly rejected, without the loss of much important

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ther to Giambattista Gastaldo, "Già ho temperata *la vena d'oro* per celebrare il valor vostro." *Lett. p.* 31, 35, *ap. Tirab. ut sup.*

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tant information, copiously narrated and elegantly expressed; and under proper precautions they yet furnish valuable materials to future times.

Among the writers of this period, whose works afford abundant materials for the use of the politician, the moralist, and the philosopher, may be enumerated Pierio Valeriano, of Belluno, the nephew of Urbano Bolzanio, of whom some account has been given in the preceding pages.(a) The narrowness of his circumstances compelled him, when young, to enter into the menial service of some of the Venetian nobility, and prevented his attending to literary studies until he had attained the fifteenth year of his age.(b) He afterwards applied himself to them with great diligence, and under the instructions of Benedetto Brognolo, Giorgio Valla, Janus Lascar, and

Miscellaneous writers.

Pierio Valeriano.

(a) *v. ante, chap.* xi. *vol.* ii. *p.* 387.

(b) He refers to his servitude in his *Eleg. de calamitat. suæ vitæ.*

" A patruo demum Venetas accitus ad undas,
" Vix menses nostro viximus ære decem.
" Patriciis igitur servire coegit egestas
" Ærumnosa, bonis invida principiis."

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and Marc-Antonio Sabellico, made an uncommon proficiency. On the recommendation of the latter he changed his baptismal name of Gian-Pietro, for the more classical and sonorous appellation of Pierio. His education was completed at the university of Padua, where he arrived about the time that Fracastoro quitted it, whom he regrets that he had only seen three times. Being driven from his country by the irruption of the imperial troops into Italy in the year 1509, he resorted for safety to Rome, where he soon formed an intimacy with several eminent men, and among others, with the cardinal Egidio of Viterbo, and Gian-Francesco della Rovere archbishop of Turin, the latter of whom, being appointed keeper of the castle of S. Angelo, gave Valeriano a residence there. But he was still more fortunate in having attracted the notice of the cardinal de' Medici, afterwards Leo X. who no sooner ascended the pontifical throne, than he received Valeriano among his constant attendants and gave him a competent support. Thus attached to the service of the pontiff, he accompanied Giuliano de' Medici on his matrimonial expedition to Turin, and was afterwards appointed by Leo X. instructor of the young favourites, Alessandro and Ippolito de' Medici.

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dici.(a) At this period of life he distinguished himself by his Latin poetry, and is commemorated by Arsilli in his poem *De Poetis Urbanis*, as a successful imitator of Horace and of Propertius.(b) That he attended also on the literary feasts of Corycius, he has particularly mentioned in his works.(c) After the death of Leo he retired for some time to Naples, but was recalled to Rome by Clement VII. who had a pride in remunerating the learned favourites of his illustrious predecessor, and who conferred on Valeriano the rank of protonotary, with several ecclesiastical preferments, and appointed him to fill the chair of professor of eloquence at Rome. He afterwards passed some part of his time at Florence, but after the death of the

(a) *Valerian. Hexamet. in Epist. Dedicat. ad Catharinam Galliæ Reginam. Ven.* 1550. *et. v. ante, chap.* x. *vol.* ii. *p.* 388.

(b) The poems of Valeriano, in five books, under the title of *Amorum*, were first printed in 1524, and afterwards by Giolito, at Venice, in 1549. His hexameters, odes, and epigrams, were also printed by Giolito, in 1550.

(c) *Valerian. Hieroglyph. lib.* xvii. *in Ep. nuncupat. ad Ægidium Viterbiensem Card. p.* 123.

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cardinal Ippolito in 1535, and the assassination of the duke Alessandro de' Medici, he retired to Belluno, whence he transferred his residence to Padua, at which place he continued to devote himself in tranquillity to his favourite studies until the close of his days in the year 1558.*(a)*

Valeriano is chiefly known to the present times, by his brief, but curious and interesting work, *De Literatorum Infelicitate*, which has preserved many anecdotes of the principal scholars of the age, not elsewhere to be found. His Latin poetry has also considerable merit, and has frequently been cited in the foregoing pages, as illustrating the events of the times. His extensive learning is, however, chiefly discoverable in his great work on *Hieroglyphics*, divided into fifty-eight books, in which he has undertaken to illustrate, from Egyptian, Greek, and Roman symbols, almost every branch of science and of art; but in this undertaking he is supposed to have displayed more imagination than judgment, and more

(a) Tiraboschi, Storia della Lett. Ital. vol. vi, *par.* iii. *p.* 239.

more labour than discrimination.(a) Under the title of *Antiquitates Bellunenses*, he also published a work on the antiquities of his native place. This author is entitled to a kind of commendation, not to be indiscriminately given to the eminent scholars of his time, having been no less remarkable for the probity of his life, and the inoffensiveness of his manners, than for the many learned works which issued from his pen.

Few men of this period had made a greater proficiency in literary studies and scientific acquirements, than Celio Calcagnini of Ferrara. His father was of a respectable family and held the rank of an apostolic notary; but it is conjectured with great probability, that Celio was not the offspring of a matrimonial connexion. He was born in the year 1479. In his early studies under Pietro Pomponazzo he had as an associate the celebrated Lilio Gregorio Gyraldi, with whom,

Celio Calcagnini.

(a) The opinions of various authors on this, and other productions of Valeriano, may be found in the *Censura celebriorum authorum* of Pope Blount. *p.* 557. *Ed. Gener.* 1710. 4*to.*

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and with Pierio Valeriano, he maintained throughout his life a strict intimacy, which was cemented by a conformity of studies and pursuits. In his early years he had devoted himself to a military life, and served for some time in the army of the emperor Maximilian. He afterwards engaged in the service of Julius II. and was employed in several important negotiations. Returning to Ferrara, he obtained the particular favour of the family of Este, and was chosen to accompany the cardinal Ippolito on his journey into Hungary. About the year 1520, he was appointed professor of the *belles lettres* in the university of Ferrara; a situation which he held with great credit until the time of his death in the year 1541. His writings, which are very numerous, were collected and printed at Basle in the same year. They relate to almost every branch of learning; to philosophy, politics, moral and natural science. His Latin poetry is, however, preferred in point of elegance to his prose writings, and entitles him to a respectable rank among the most eminent of his contemporaries. In some of these pieces he highly applauds the liberality of Leo X. of whose bounty it is probable that he partook in common with his two learned friends.

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friends.(a) In an interview which took place between him and Erasmus, when the latter was on a visit at Ferrara, Calcagnini addressed that great scholar in Latin with such fluency and elegance, as not only to surprise him, but, as he himself confesses, almost to deprive him of the power of making a reply.(b) Some years afterwards, the treatise of Calcagnini *De Libero Arbitrio*, written by him in opposition to the Lutheran doctrine of predestination, being dispersed abroad in manuscript, fell into the hands of Erasmus, who finding that Calcagnini agreed with him in the opinions which he had avowed in his *Diatribe* on the same subject,(c) wrote to him with high commendations of his work; which he assures him he meant to have sent to the press, had it not contained in one passage some insinuations to the prejudice of Erasmus, as a friend to

(a) *v. Appendix, No. CCIII.*

(b) "Salutavit me summa quidem humanitate, sed "oratione tam diserta tamque fluenti, ut ego prorsus viderer "elinguis." *Erasm. Ep. lib.* xxviii. *Ep.* 25.

(c) In reply to this *Diatribe* of Erasmus, Luther wrote his treatise, *De Servo Arbitrio*, which is published in the general collection of his works. *tom.* iii. *p.* 160.

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to the proceedings of Luther.(a) He then takes an opportunity of vindicating himself from any connexion with the reformers. He complains with great justice, that whilst he endeavours to keep upon terms with both parties, he is persecuted by both, and inveighs against the theologians and monks, who as he asserts, detest him on account of his labours for the promotion of learning, which they hate even worse than they do Luther himself.(b) In his reply to Erasmus, Calcagnini

(a) " Libellus tuus, *De libero Arbitrio*, mi *Cæli*, usque adeo mihi placuit, ut editurus fuerim in tui nominis gloriam, ni me locus unus offendisset, in quo suspicionem quorundam qui me dictitant hoc spectaculo delectari, quod hactenus tacitus consertisque manibus viderim aprum illum ferum devastantem vineam Domini, sic refers, quasi non fueris ab eadem alienus." *Erasm. Ep. lib.* xx. *Ep.* 53.

(b) " Cæterum video illud esse fati mei, ut dum utrique parti consulere studeo, utrinque lapider." —— " et interim Theologi Monachique, quorum implacabile odium in me concitaram ob provecta bonarum literarum studia, quas istæ pecudes multo pejus oderunt quam *Lutherum* ipsum, tam pertinaciter ac stolide debacchantur in me, ut ni mihi fuisset animus adamantinus, vehorum odiis potuerim in castra *Lutheri* propelli." *Erasm. ibid.*

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Calcagnini attacked Luther and his doctrines with great bitterness. Adverting then to the conduct of Erasmus, he informs him, that those who censure him the least do not hesitate to represent him as one who acts a double part, and who, although he alone might extinguish the flame, stands by unconcerned whilst the altars of the gods are destroyed.*(a)* He assures him, however, that these are not his sentiments, and declares that he is fully convinced of his piety and his sincerity, as a proof of which he requests that he will not only correct the passage which has given him so much concern, but will alter or expunge any expression which may be supposed to convey

(a) "Nam quod epistolis et aliis tuis commentariis "*Lutheri* fabulam non probari abs te asseveras, et tibi vo- "tum consulendi utrique parti testabare, sic interpretaban- "tur, quasi aliâ manu panem ostenderes, aliâ lapidem ab- "sconderes, et quod duos parietes de eadem fidelia adlinens, "utrinque plausum aucupareris. Qui vero vel modestis- "sime vel parcissime de te obloquebantur, ii te quasi ces- "satorem arguebant, quod tantum incendium excitatum vi- "deres, quantum non alius præter Erasmum posset ex- "tinguere, et tamen, quasi ea res per jocum gereretur, aut "nihil ad te pertineret, insinuatis manibus flagrantes aras "deorumque focos spectares." *Calcag. Ep. ad Erasm. int. Eras. Ep. lib.* xx. *Ep.* 54.

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convey the slightest reflection on his character.(a) Under the smooth polish of urbanity which appears in this letter, Calcagnini has, however, conveyed no small portion of reproof; nor is it, indeed, surprising, that the rigid adherents of the Roman church should feel highly indignant at one of their most accomplished chieftains, who in the day of battle refused to oppose himself openly to the enemy, and to use the language of Calcagnini himself, looked sedately on "whilst "the wild-boar rooted up the vineyard of the "Lord."

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Lilio Gregorio Gyraldi.

In the course of the preceding work, we have had frequent occasion to refer to the writings of Lilio Gregorio Gyraldi, and particularly to his treatise on the Latin poets of his own times. There are, indeed, few departments of literature which have not been the

(a) "Illud itaque, mi *Erasme*, certum persuasumque "habeto, me tua bonitate, sinceritate, pietate, nihil ex- "ploratius habere aut testatius. Si quid est tamen eo in "libello, quod aut aures tuas offendat, aut quod tibi videa- "tur malevolis dare ansam posse malè cogitandi, expunge, "dele, interline, immuta, ut lubet. Fac denique ut nulla "latebra supersit in qua nævus ullus delitescat." *Calcagn. ut sup.*

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the subjects of his inquiry, and in whatever study he engaged he made a distinguished proficiency. He was born of a respectable family at Ferrara, in the year 1489; and although his finances were scanty, he had the good fortune to obtain instructions from Luca Riva and Battista Guarini. In his youth he paid a visit to Naples, where he had an opportunity of forming an intimacy with some of the distinguished scholars who then resided there. He afterwards visited Mirandula, Carpi, and Milan; in which last city he prosecuted the study of the Greek language under Demetrius Chalcondyles.*(a)* Thence he passed to Modena, where, at the request of the countess Bianca Rangone, he undertook to superintend the education of Ercole Rangone, one of her sons. On the countess transferring her residence to Rome, at the invitation of Leo X. who, as has already been related, made a splendid provision for her and her family,*(b)* Gyraldi followed his patroness, and had apartments assigned to him by the pontiff in the Vatican;

(a) Tirab. Storia della Lett. Ital. vol. vii. *par.* ii. *p.* 216, 217.

(b) v. ante, chap. xiv. *vol.* iii. *p.* 181.

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Vatican; where he not only continued to watch over the education of his pupil, who was afterwards raised by Leo X. to the dignity of a cardinal, but delivered instructions to such other young men of eminence as were inclined to attend him.(a) The favour with which he was regarded by Leo X. and by his successors Adrian VI. and Clement VII. might have induced him to flatter himself with the hope of some important preferment; but

(a) In a MS. copy of the poetics of Vida, cited by Tiraboschi, is the following passage:

"I puer; atque fores *Lili* pulsare docentis
"Ne dubita, et vatis sacratum insistere limen.
"Excipiet facilis, teque admiretur ab annis,
"Spesque avidas ultro dictis accendat amicis."

These lines were omitted by Vida, on printing his poem; a circumstance which gave great offence to Gyraldi, who alludes to it in the following lines:

"Poscere non ausim *Vidam*, promittere quamvis
"Sit montes auri solitus; nam carmine nomen
"Ipse suo expunxit, nostroque a limine vates
"Summovit teneros; hunc quî succurrere credas?"

And to the same cause may be assigned the sarcastic manner in which Gyraldi characterizes the poetical writings of Vida in his treatise, *De Poet. suor. temp.*

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but the only office which he obtained was that of an apostolic notary. During his residence in the pontifical court, Gyraldi is said to have indulged himself too freely in the luxuries of the table, in consequence of which he contracted the gout.(a) With the pangs of this disorder, he had also to sustain other misfortunes. In the sacking of the city of Rome, in the year 1527, he was plundered of all his property, not being able to save even his books. In the same year, he lost by an untimely death his great protector the cardinal Ercole Rangone, in consequence of which he left the city of Rome and retired to Mirandula, where he was most kindly received by Giovan-Francesco Pico lord of that place. The treacherous assassination of that learned prince, in the year 1533, again deprived Gyraldi of a liberal patron, and had nearly involved

(a) "Admonui etiam ut mores pestilentissimæ Urbis "caveret, et cœli insalubritatem declinaret, unde jam podagram et nephritim contraxit. Atque id feci libentius, "quod Lilium ab ineunte ætate semper impense amaverim, "et in eum omnia contulerim officia. Sed nescio quomodo, "postquam atrium illud Circes adiit, alios induit mores, et "a se prorsus descivit." *Celio Calcag. Joan. Fr. Pico, Ep. ap. Tirab.* vii. ii. 218.

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volved him in destruction.(a) He effected, however, his escape to Ferrara, where in the friendship of Giovanni Manardi and Celio Calcagnini, and the favour of the duchess Renata one of the daughters of Louis XII. he found at length a refuge from his misfortunes. With his returning prosperity, his disorder, however, acquired new strength, and he was at length confined entirely to his bed, where he still continued his studies, and composed several of those learned works which have transmitted his name with credit to future times. He died in the year 1552; having, during his residence at Ferrara, acquired a considerable sum of money, which he gave by his will to the duke to be divided among the poor; a disposition which would have been more to his honour, had he not left six nieces of marriageable age wholly destitute of support. His books he bequeathed to his relatives Giambattista Gyraldi(b) and Prospero Pasetio. In consequence

(a) *v. ante, chap.* xx. *p.* 108.

(b) Well known, under the name of Giovambattista Giraldi Cynthio, as the author of the *Hecatommithi*, or hundred novels, in the manner of Boccaccio, which have been frequently printed. A collection of his poems was published

quence of the frequent praises bestowed by Gyraldi on the duchess of Ferrara, who was generally supposed to be favourable to the opinions of the reformers, Gyraldi was himself suspected of a similar partiality. His numerous writings on history, criticism, morals, and other subjects, were collected and published in two volumes in folio, at Leyden, in 1696. These volumes contain also his Latin poems, which entitle him to rank among the most correct and learned writers of his time.

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published at Ferrara in 1537, at the close of which is a treatise of Celio Calcagnini, *De Imitatione*, addressed to Cynthio. This volume rarely occurs.

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REVIVAL of the fine arts—Research of Antiques encouraged by Leo X.—His Iambics on the statue of Lucretia—Collection of ANGELO COLOCCI—*Erection and improvements of the Vatican palace—Extensive views of Julius II.—Architectural works of* BRAMANTE—*Most flourishing period of the arts* —MICHELAGNOLO BUONAROTI—*Emulation between him and* LIONARDO DA VINCI—*Cartoons of the wars of Pisa—Commencement of the modern church of St. Peters at Rome—Michelagnolo undertakes the tomb of Julius II.—Erects the statue of that pontiff in Bologna—*RAFFAELLO D'URBINO—*Michelagnolo commences his works in the* Capella Sistina—*Paintings of Raffaello in the Vatican —Whether Raffaello improved his style from the works of Michelagnolo—Circumstances decisive of the controversy—Picture of Heliodorus—Leo X. engages Michelagnolo to rebuild the church of S. Lorenzo at Florence—Raffaello proceeds in painting the frescos of the Vatican—Works executed by him for Agostino Chigi—Roman school of art—*Loggie *of Raffaello—*POLIDORO DA CARAVAGGIO *—The*

—*The Cartoons of Raffaello*—*Hall of Constantine*—*Transfiguration of Raffaello painted in competition with Michelagnolo*—*Raffaello employed by Leo X. to delineate the remains of ancient Rome*—*His report to the Pope on that subject*—*Death of Raffaello*—*Other artists employed by Leo X.*—LUCA DELLA ROBBIA —ANDREA CONTUCCI—FRANCIA BIGIO —ANDREA DEL SARTO—JACOPO DA PUNTORMO—*Lionardo da Vinci said to have visited Rome*—*Origin of the art of engraving on Copper*—Stampe di Niello—BACCIO BALDINI—ANDREA MANTEGNA—MARC-ANTONIO RAIMONDI *and his scholars*—*Invention of Etching.*

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Revival of the fine arts.

THE encouragement afforded by the Roman pontiffs to painting, to sculpture, and to architecture, is almost coeval with their revival in modern times. For a long succession of ages, the genius of the predominating religion had, indeed, been highly unfavourable to these pursuits, and uniting with the ferocity of barbarian ignorance, had almost extirpated the last remains of those arts, which had been carried by the ancients to so great a degree of perfection.(a) The fury of the

(a) " Ma quello, che sopra tutte le cose dette, fu di " perdità

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Iconoclasts subsided, as the restoration of paganism became no longer an object of dread, and some of the meagre and mutilated remains of ancient skill, sanctified by new appellations derived from the objects of Christian worship, were suffered to remain to attract the superstitious devotion, rather than the enlightened admiration of the people. The remonstrances and example of Petrarca seem first to have roused the attention of the Romans to the excellence of those admirable works, by the remains of which they were still surrounded. "Do you not blush," said he, "to make an infamous traffic of that "which has escaped the hands of your barbarian ancestors; and to see that even the "indolent city of Naples adorns herself with "your columns, your statues, and the sepulchres that cover the ashes of your forefathers?"

"perdità e danno infinitamente a le predette professioni, fu "il fervente zelo della nuova religione Cristiana. La "quale non guastò solamente, o gettò per terra tutte le sta"tue maravigliose, e le sculture, pitture, musaici, ed or"namenti de' fallaci Dii de' Gentili; ma le memorie ancora, "e gli onori d' infinite persone egregie, alle quali per gli "eccellenti meriti loro dalla virtuosissima antichità erano "state poste in publico le statue, e l'altre memorie." *Vasari, Vite de' Pittori. in Proem.* 73.

" fathers?"*(a)* From this period some traces appear of a rising taste for these productions, which in the course of the succeeding century, became a passion that could only be gratified by the acquisition of them. Of the labours of Niccolo Niccoli, of Poggio Bracciolini, and of Lorenzo the brother of the venerable Cosmo de' Medici, some account has been given in other works.*(b)* By Lorenzo the Magnificent this object was pursued with constant solicitude and great success; and the collection of antiques formed by him in the gardens of St Marco at Florence, became the school of Michelagnolo.

(a) " Non vi siete arrossiti di fare un vile guadagno di " ciò, che ha sfuggito le mani de' barbari vostri maggiori; " e delle vostre colonne, de' limitari de' vostri templi, " delle statue, de' sepolchri sotto cui riposavano le vene- " rande ceneri de' vostri antenati, per tacer d'altre cose, or " s'abbellisce e s'adorna l'oziosa Napoli?" *Petrar. Hortat. ad Nicol. Laurent. ap. Tirab. Storia della Letter. Ital. vol.* v. *p.* 312.

(b) Shepherd's Life of Poggio Bracciolini. chap. vii. *p.* 291. *Life of Lorenzo de' Medici, chap.* ix. *vol.* ii. *p.* 193. 195. 201. *&c.* 4*to. Ed.*

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Research of antiques encouraged by Leo X.

This relish for the remains of antiquity, whether they consisted of statues, gems, vases, or other specimens of skill, had been cultivated by Leo X. from his earliest years under his paternal roof; where the instructions of the accomplished Politiano had enabled him to combine amusement with improvement, and to unite a correct taste with the science of an antiquarian. Before he was raised to the pontifical chair, he had distinguished himself by the encouragement which he had afforded to the research of antiquities at Rome.(a) By his assiduity a piece of sculpture was discovered in a small island of the Tiber, representing the ship of Æsculapius; an incident which is referred to by one of the poets of the time, as an augury of the election of Leo to the pontificate and of the tranquillity and glory of his reign.(b) In the year 1508, under the pontificate of Julius II. the group of the

(a) In the Laurentian library, *Plut.* xxxiii. *Cod.* 37, is preserved a Latin poem of Andrea Fulvius, in two books, entitled, *Antiquaria*, in which he describes at great length the antiquities of Rome, with many encomiums on Leo X. *v. Fabr. Leon.* x. *vit. p.* 305. *note* 111.

(b) The Latin verses of Valeriano on this occasion, are given in the Appendix, No. CCIV.

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the Laocoon, one of the most precious remains of antiquity, was discovered in the ruins of the baths of Titus, and the fortunate discoverer was rewarded by the pontiff with an annual stipend, arising from the revenues of the church of S. John Lateran. On the elevation of Leo to the pontificate, he removed this inestimable memorial of art to the Vatican, and in exchange for the annuity, conferred on the person who discovered it the honourable and lucrative office of an apostolic notary.(a) The encouragement thus afforded to those

(a) "Ho trovato in una relazione manoscritta, degna "di fede, che papa Giulio II. diede a *Felice de' Fredis*, e "a suoi figliuoli *introitus et portionem gabellæ Portæ S. "Johannis Lateranensis*, in premio d'avere scoperto il "*Laocoonte;* e che LEON X. restituendo queste rendite alla "chiesa di S. Giov. Laterano, assegnò loro in vece *Officium "Scriptoriæ Apostolicæ*, con un breve in data dei 9 No- "vembre, 1517." *Winckel. Storia delle arti. Nota dell' Edit.* ii. 193. The merits of this fortunate inquirer were also inscribed on his tomb.

"FELICI DE FREDIS,
"Qui ob proprias virtutes,
"Et repertum LAOCOONTIS divinum quod
"In Vaticano cernes ferè
"Respirans simulacrum,
"Immortalitatem

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those who devoted themselves to these inquiries, gave new vigour to their researches. The production of a genuine specimen of antiquity, secured to the fortunate possessor a competency for life, and the acquisition of a fine statue was almost equivalent to that of a bishoprick. In these pursuits little attention was paid by the pontiff to economy. Whatever appeared deserving of his notice was purchased at any expense, and paid for from the revenues intended for the use of the church. Many of the cameos and gems of great value, which had been collected by his ancestors and dispersed during the misfortunes of his family, were fortunately recovered by him, and to these, important additions were made by his own assiduity. He placed in the front of the pantheon, now called the church of *La Rotonda* or *S. Maria ad Martyres*,*(a)* a fine porphyry vase, which has since been

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" Immortalitatem meruit,
" Anno Domini MDXXVIIII."

v. Richardson sur la Peinture, tom. iii. *p.* 711. *in addendis.*

(a) This was commemorated by the following inscription:

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been removed by Clement XII. into the church of the Lateran. The discovery of these monuments of ancient skill called forth the panegyrics of the most accomplished scholars of the age. To the Latin verses of Sadoleti on the Laocoon and the Curtius we have before had occasion to refer.*(a)* Castiglione has in like manner celebrated the statue of Cleopatra, now supposed to be that of Ariadne, in a poem of great elegance, in which he has taken occasion highly to commend the taste and munificence of Leo X.*(b)* Even Leo himself, whilst yet a cardinal, exercised his talents on a similar subject; and his Iambics on the discovery of a statue of Lucretia among the ruins of the Transtevere, exhibit the only specimen that has been preserved

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LEO X. PONT. MAX. PROVIDENTISS. PRINCEPS
VAS ELEGANTISSIMUM EX LAPIDE NUMIDICO
NE POLLUTUM NEGLIGENTIÆ SORDIBUS
OBOLESCERET IN HUNC MODUM REPONI
EXORNARIQUE JUSSIT.
BARTHOLOMÆUS VALLA, RAMUNDUS CAPOFERRUS, } AEDILES FAC. CUR.

(a) v. ante, chap. xvii. *vol.* iii. *p.* 368, 490.

(b) v. Appendix, No. CCV.

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served to us of his poetical compositions, and afford a sufficient proof, that if he had devoted a greater share of his attention to the cultivation of this department of letters, he might not wholly have despaired of success.(a)

Collection of Angelo Colocci.

The particular favour with which Leo X. regarded antiquarian studies, gave them a new impulse at Rome, where many of the cardinals and distinguished prelates began to form collections which have since been highly celebrated. Among these, that of Angelo Colocci, in the villa and gardens of Sallust, is deserving of particular notice. His statues, busts, sepulchral memorials, cameos, coins, and medals, were numerous and valuable.(b) The walls of his house were decorated with classical monuments in marble; and the Roman standard, and the consular Fasti of Colocci, have frequently been referred

(a) This piece is given in the Appendix, No. CCVI.

(b) "Andreas Fulvius memorat inter alia monumenta "ab Angelo Colotio collecta, fuisse signum Socratis Alci- "biadem complectentis, Jovis Ammonis, Prothei, Æscu- "lapii; præterea signa Mensium cum Diis tutelaribus," &c. *Ubaldini, vita Colotii. p.* 26.

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ferred to, as the most authentic documents for ascertaining circumstances of considerable importance in the topography and history of ancient Rome.*(a)*

Erection and improvement of the palace of the Vatican.

The palace of the Vatican, first erected by the pontiff Symmachus about the beginning of the sixth century,*(b)* had been enlarged by Nicholas III. so as to afford a commodious residence for the chiefs of the Christian church; but the magnificent idea of increasing the splendour of the Roman see, and rendering the city of Rome the centre of literature and of arts no less than of religion, was first conceived by Nicholas V. about the middle of the fifteenth

(a) "Hortuli Colotiani ad Aquam Virginem siti, maxima vetustorum monumentorum copia instructissimi, quæ primis illis temporibus, quibus antiquitatis studium caput extollere cæpit, unus Angelus Colotius, sanctissimus doctissimusque vir, eo in loco summa cum diligentia hinc inde collegit, magnam mihi Inscriptionum multitudinem suppeditarunt," *Panvinii Fast. lib.* ii. *ap. Ubaldini, vitam Colotii, p.* 31.

(b) "Symmachus hæc primus vicina palatia Petro,
"Condidit; hinc alii longo post tempore patres
"Ædificaverunt, coluereque protinus ædes."

Andr. Fulvius, de Antiq. Urbis, lib. i. *Ed. Rom,* 1513.

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fifteenth century. As a part of this design, he resolved to complete the palace of the Vatican on such an extensive scale and with such elegace of ornament, as to render it the largest, as well as the most beautiful fabric in Christendom. It was his intention not only to prepare a suitable residence for the supreme pontiff, and for the cardinals of the church, by whom, as his constant council, he ought always to be surrounded, but to provide appropriate buildings for transacting all the affairs of the Roman court, with accommodations for the officers both of the church and state; so as to give to the seat of the supreme pontiff the utmost possible degree of convenience and of pomp. Splendid apartments were also to be provided for the reception of the sovereigns and great personages, who for devotional or secular purposes might visit the holy see, and an immense theatre was to be erected for the coronation of the Roman pontiffs. This extensive structure formed, however, a comparatively small part of his vast design, which, it seems, was to comprehend the whole of the Vatican hill, and to enclose it from the rest of the city. The communication with the latter was to be formed by extensive corridors, which might be used for shops and mercantile purposes, and which were designed in such a manner

ner as to be secure from the inconveniences arising from the winds that prove so injurious to the inhabitants, and from all causes of infection and disease. The buildings were intended to be surrounded with gardens, with galleries, fountains, and aqueducts; and among them were to be erected chapels, libraries, and a large and elegant structure for the assembly of the conclave. "What a glory would it "have been for the Roman church," exclaims the pious Vasari, "to have seen the supreme "pontiff, as in a celebrated and sacred mo- "nastery, surrounded by all the ministers of "religion, and living, as in a terrestrial para- "dise, a celestial and holy life; an example "to all Christendom and an incitement to un- "believers to devote themselves to the true "worship of God, and of our blessed Savi- "our."*(a)* Whether the completion of this plan would have been productive of such happy consequences, may, perhaps, be doubtful; but the arts would have been fostered and rewarded by such an application of the immense treasures then derived from every part of Christendom, which would, at least, have been expended in elegant and harmless pursuits, instead

(a) Vasari, vite de' Pittori, i. 181.

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instead of being devoted, as has been too often the case, to the purposes of luxury, of corruption, and of war. The artist employed by Nicholas V. in executing his immense designs, was Bernardo Rosselini. His plans were completed and approved of; the work was commenced; and such part of the buildings as front the cortile of the Belvedere, with a part of the extensive walls, was erected, when the death of this munificent pontiff terminated his mighty projects; not, however, before he had, by the assistauce of the same eminent architect, completed several magnificent buildings, as well within the city of Rome as in other parts of Italy. As a painter, Pietro della Francesca was employed by Nicholas V. to decorate, conjointly with other artists, some of the chambers of the Vatican;(a) but their labours were destroyed during the pontificate of Leo X. to make way for much superior productions.

The buildings of the Vatican were increased

(a) "Hæc loca tuta parum primus munita reliquit
"Nicoleos quintus, qui mœnibus ambiit altis;
"Struxit et ornavit pictis laquearibus aulas;
"Binaque ubi fieret res sacra sacella peregit.
"Multa quoque incæpit, multâ imperfecta reliquit."

Andr. Fulv. de antiquit. Urbis. lib. i.

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ed by Pius II. Paul II. and Sixtus IV. who erected the chapel known by his name, with the library and the conclave; and by Innocent VIII. who completed several extensive galleries and apartments and ornamented them with paintings and mosaics. A stately tower was raised by Alexander VI. the apartments of which were decorated with pictures by the best artists of the time;(a) but the honour of having carried forwards to a great degree of perfection, the splendid designs of Nicholas V. was reserved for Julius II. Shall we, with Bembo, attribute it to the good fortune of this pontiff, that he was surrounded by three such artists as Bramante, Raffaello, and Michelagnolo, or may we not with greater justice suppose, that Julius communicated to them a portion of the vigour and impetuosity of his own character; and acknowledge that these great men were indebted to the pontiff for some part of their reputation, and perhaps of their excellence, by the opportunities which his magnificent projects and vast designs afforded them, of exercising their talents on a theatre sufficiently

Extensive views of Julius II.

(a) "Sextus Alexander, postremo in vertice turrem
"Addidit, antiquis quæ præminet ædibus altam."
Andr. Fulv. ut sup.

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sufficiently ample to display them to full advantage?

Architectural works of Bramante.

The first patron of Bramante after his arrival from Milan at Rome, was the cardinal Oliverio Caraffa, for whom he designed and completed the choir, in the convent of the *Frati della Pace.* This specimen of his talents recommended him to the notice of Alexander VI. by whom he was employed in executing the pontifical arms in fresco, over the great doors of S. John Lateran, when that church was opened for the celebration of the jubilee in the year 1500. Alexander afterwards conferred upon him the office of his sub-architect; but on the accession of Julius II. a fairer opportunity was afforded him of displaying his talents. No sooner was Julius seated in the chair, than he determined to facilitate the communication between the gardens of the Belvedere and the pontifical palace by two magnificent corridors, the execution of which he committed to Bramante. The inequality of the surface, instead of proving an obstacle to the artist, enabled him to exhibit the powers of his invention to greater advantage; and the model which he formed is acknowledged to have been equal in grandeur, in elegance, and in extent, to the most celebrated works of the ancients.

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cients. Of this immense design, the Loggie that extend four hundred yards in length, and yet form one of the chief ornaments of the Vatican, were a part; and were intended to correspond with a similar range of buildings on the opposite side, the foundations of which were laid, but which in consequence of the death of the pope, and that of the artist who did not long survive him, remained unfinished, until they were completed by Pius IV.*(a)* The model formed by Bramante of these magnificent structures, in which the levels of the different buildings were connected by flights of steps, designed with wonderful ingenuity and ornamented by ranges of Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian columns, was considered as an astonishing performance, and seems to have resembled the bold inventions of a more modern artist, who being unable, in latter days, to obtain an adequate employment for his extraordinary talents, found a gratification in designing imaginary buildings, which rise pile above pile in towering sublimity, and present to the eye masses of architecture, which the labour of ages could not accomplish, and of which

(a) Vasari, Vite de' Pittori. passim.

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which the revenues of kingdoms would not defray the expense.(a)

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Bramante having thus become the professed architect and favourite of Julius II. frequently accompanied the pontiff on his military expeditions, who in return for his attachment and his services, conferred on him the lucrative office of sealer of the pontifical briefs. Under his directions, Bramante executed in Rome and its vicinity several considerable buildings; and such was the fervour of the artist who laboured and of the pontiff who stimulated him, that these immense fabrics, to use an expression of Vasari, seemed rather to be *born* than to be built.

Most flourishing period of the arts.

The most illustrious period of the arts is that which commences with the return of Michelagnolo from Rome to Florence, about the year 1500, and terminates with the death of Leo X. in 1521, or rather with that of Raffaello, in the preceding year. Within this period, almost all the great works in painting, in sculpture, and in architecture, which have been the admiration of future times, were produced.

(a) Il Cavaliero Giambattista Piranesi.

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duced. Under the successive but uninterrupted patronage of Julius II. and Leo X. the talents of the great artists then living were united in one simultaneous effort; and their rival productions may be considered as a joint tribute to the munificence of their patrons and the glory of the age. A short time prior to the expulsion of Piero de' Medici from Florence, in the year 1494, Michelagnolo had quitted his native place, from an apprehension of the disturbances which he saw were likely to ensue. After a short and unprofitable visit to Venice, he took up his residence at Bologna, where he gave some specimens of his talents, not only as an artist, but as a polite scholar; and his host Aldrovandi was delighted with his recitation of the works of Dante, Petrarca, Boccaccio, and other Tuscan writers.(a) On the establishment of the government under Pietro Soderini, Michelagnolo returned to Florence, where he executed for Lorenzo di Pier-Francesco de' Medici a statue in marble of St. John, which has unfortunately eluded the researches of his admirers.(b) About the same time he also completed in marble,

Michelagnolo Buonaroti.

(a) *Vasari, vita di Michelagn. in vite, tom.* iii. *p.* 197.

(b) *Bottari, Note al Vasari, vol.* iii. *p.* 197.

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marble, a figure of Cupid sleeping, which at the suggestion of the same Lorenzo, he is said to have placed for some time in the ground, for the purpose of giving to it the appearance of a piece of ancient sculpture. It was afterwards sold as a real monument of antiquity to the cardinal Raffaello Riario, who having discovered the deception and being insensible of its intrinsic merit, returned it on the hands of the artist.(a) Notwithstanding this impeachment of the taste of the cardinal, he soon afterwards

(a) This figure afterwards came into the possession of Cæsar Borgia, who presented it to the marchioness of Mantua, at which city it gave rise to an anecdote recorded in the life of De Thou. That great man being at Mantua, in the year 1573, was, as we are told, gratified with the sight of the sleeping Cupid of Michelagnolo, of which he and his friends expressed their high approbation; but on being shewn, immediately afterwards, another figure of the same subject, of antique workmanship, they were instantly convinced of the inferiority of the modern artist; whose work appeared, in comparison with the other, a shapeless block; and were ashamed of having expressed their approbation of it. This story, if true, does no credit to the taste of De Thou and his companions. They might, perhaps, justly have preferred the ancient to the modern statue, but in thus extravagantly condemning that which they had, the moment before, commended, they proved that they had no real standard of taste and were not qualified to judge on the subject.

wards invited Michelagnolo to Rome, where he remained about the space of a year, but without being employed by the cardinal in any undertaking worthy of his talents.*(a)* He did not, however, quit the city without giving splendid proofs of his genius; among which, his figures, in marble, of Cupid and of Bacchus,*(b)* executed for Jacopo Galli a Roman gentleman, and his astonishing production of the Madonna and dead Christ, completed at the instance of the cardinal of Rohan, are the most distinguished.

It was not, however, until the return of

 Michelagnolo

(a) It is strange that Michelagnolo should, at the request of the cardinal, have condescended, as Vasari relates, to make a design for a painting of St. Francis receiving the *stigmata*, which was to be finished in colours by the *tonsor* of the cardinal. It appears, however, to have been executed, and after having been coloured by the barber "molto "diligentemente," was honoured with a place in one of the chapels of *S. Pietro a Montorio*, at Rome. Such is at times the wayward fate of genius; condemned, on one occasion, to gratify the gaze of folly by erecting a statue of snow, and on another, to be the footstool for a barber to mount to immortality.

(b) The statue of Bacchus is (or lately was) in the Florentine gallery. It has been engraved in the collection of ancient and modern statues by Domenico Rossi. *Rom.* 1704, and in the third volume of the *Museum Florentinum.*

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Emulation between Michelagnolo and Lionardo da Vinci.

Michelagnolo to Florence, about the close of the century, that he may be said to have started in the career of his glory, to which he was incited by a spirit of emulation and a fortunate concurrence of circumstances. On the ruin of Francesco Sforza and the capture of Milan by the French, in the year 1500, the celebrated Lionardo da Vinci quitted that city, where he left many noble monuments of his genius, and repairing to Florence, arrived there about the same time that Michelagnolo returned from Rome.*(a)* The rising reputation of Michelagnolo was contrasted with the veteran glory of Lionardo. They each felt the excellencies of the other; and they each aspired to rival them. By this collision the spark was produced which was shortly to illuminate Italy. The first contest between these illustrious artists was favourable to the credit of Michelagnolo.

A

(a) At what time Michelagnolo returned to Florence, is not precisely stated by his biographers; but Condivi informs us, that at the time he executed the Madonna for the cardinal of Rohan at Rome, he was twenty-four or twenty-five years of age; consequently, as he was born in 1474, his return may be placed with tolerable accuracy in 1499. This also agrees sufficiently with his contest with Lionardo da Vinci, which occurred soon afterwards. *Condivi, Vita di Michelagn. p.* 14. *Ed. Fer.* 1746. *fi.*

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A large block of marble, to which Simone da Fiesole a Florentine sculptor, had unsuccessfully attempted to give the resemblance of a human figure of gigantic size, had remained neglected upwards of a hundred years, and was supposed to be irremediably deformed. The magistrates of Florence were desirous that this opprobrium of the art should be converted to the ornament of the city, for which purpose they applied to some of the most eminent professors of the time, and among the rest to Lionardo da Vinci and Michelagnolo. Lionardo, who had excelled in the productions of the pencil rather than of the chisel, hesitated to undertake the task, alleging that the work could not be completed without supplying the defects with additional pieces of marble.*(a)* Michelagnolo alone engaged to form it into a statue of one entire piece; and under his hands this shapeless block became the wonderful colossal figure of David, which was afterwards

(a) Besides Lionardo and Michelagnolo, Andrea Contucci, an excellent artist, had been treated with to undertake the work. *Vasari Vite*, iii. 203. The document from the public records of Florence by which this task was intrusted to Michelagnolo, is published by Gori, in his Annotations on Condivi, *p.* 106.

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afterwards placed by order of the magistrates before the gates of the palace of justice. With such accuracy had he estimated the dimensions of this celebrated statue, that in several parts of the figure, he has left untouched the ruder labours of his predecessor, upon which he could not employ his chisel without injury to its proportions.

Cartoons of the wars of Pisa,

The spirit of patronage which, at this time, actuated the Florentine government, soon afforded these great artists another opportunity of exerting their rival talents, in which Lionardo might justly have flattered himself with a fairer prospect of success. The magistrates having resolved to decorate the council-hall of Florence, with a picturesque representation of some of the battles in which the republic had been successfully engaged, intrusted to Lionardo and Michelagnolo, in detached portions, the execution of this extensive work. The subject proposed was the wars of Pisa, in the result of which the Florentines obtained the final dominion of that place. The cartoons, or designs for this purpose, were immediately commenced. The preparations made by each of the artists, and the length of time employed, as well in intense meditation, as in cautious

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cautious execution, sufficiently demonstrated the importance which they attached to the result. From variety of talent, or by mutual agreement, they each, however, chose a different track. Lionardo undertook to represent a combat of horsemen, which he introduced as a part of the history of Nicolo Piccinino, a commander for the duke of Milan. In this piece he concentrated all the result of his experience and all the powers of his mind. In the varied forms and contorted attitudes of the combatants, he has displayed his thorough knowledge of the anatomy of the human body. In their features he has characterized, in the most expressive manner, the sedateness of steady courage, the vindictive malevolence of revenge, the mingled impressions of hope and of fear, the exultation of triumphant murder, and the despairing gasp of inevitable death. The horses mingle in the combat with a ferocity equal to that of their riders, and the whole was executed with such skill, that in the essential points of conception, of composition, and of outline, this production has, perhaps, seldom been equalled and certainly never excelled. Michelagnolo chose a different path. Devoted solely to the study of the human figure, he disdained to lavish any portion of his powers on the inferior representations

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presentations of animal life. He therefore selected a moment in which he supposed a body of Florentine soldiers, bathing in the Arno, to have been unexpectedly called into action by the signal of battle. To have chosen a subject more favourable to the display of his powers, consistently with the task committed to him, was perhaps impossible. The clothed, the half-clothed, and the naked, are mingled in one tumultuous group. A soldier just risen from the water starts in alarm, and turning towards the sound of the trumpet, expresses in his complicated action almost every variety incident to the human frame. Another, with the most vehement impatience, forces his dripping feet through his adhesive clothing. A third calls to his companion, whose arms only are seen grappling with the rocky sides of the river, which from this circumstance appears to flow in front, although beyond the limits of the picture. Whilst a fourth, almost prepared for action, in buckling round him his belt, promises to stoop the next moment for his sword and shield which lie ready at his feet. It would be as extravagant as unjust to the talents of Michelagnolo, to carry our admiration of this production so far as to suppose, with the sculptor Cellini, that he never afterwards

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wards attained to half the degree of excellence which he there displayed;*(a)* but it may be asserted with confidence, that the great works which this fortunate spirit of emulation produced, marked a new æra in the art, and that upon the study of these models, almost all the great painters, who shortly afterwards conferred such honour on their country, were principally formed.*(b)*

On

(a) "Stettero questi due Cartoni (di Lionardo, e di Michelagnolo) uno nel palazzo de' Medici, e uno nella sala del Papa; in mentre che eglino stettero in piè, furono la scuola del mondo; sebbene il divino Michelagnolo fece la gran capella di Papa Julio, dappoi non arrivò a questo segno mai alla metà, la sua virtù non aggiunse mai all forza di quei primi studj." *Vita di Benv. Cellini, p.* 13.

(b) Neither of these works was ever completed, and even the cartoons have long since been lost or destroyed. That of Lionardo was, however, engraved by Edelinck, when young, from an imperfect design. It has since been engraved with less elegance, but from a better model, and published in the *Etruria Pittrice, No. xxix.* There is also a print of a part of the cartoon of Michelagnolo by Marc-Antonio, which was also re-engraved by Agostino Veneziano. This print is known by the name of the *Grimpeurs.* The only copy ever made of the whole composition of the Cartoon of Michelagnolo, is said to have been among

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Commencement of the modern church of S. Peters at Rome.

On the elevation of Julius II. to the pontificate, one of the first objects of his ambition, was to have his memory immortalized by the labours of the greatest sculptor of his time. He therefore invited Michelagnolo to Rome, and engaged him by the most liberal offers to form for him the design of a sepulchral monument.(a) The great artist had now found a proper

among the pictures collected by the late Lord Leicester, and to be now in the possession of Mr. Coke of Norfolk. "It is a small picture in oil, in chiaro-scuro, and the per-"formance of Bastiano da S. Gallo, surnamed *Aristo-*"*tile*, from his learned or verbose descants on that sur-"prising work." *Seward's Anecdotes of distinguished persons, vol.* iii. *p.* 137.

(a) It has been supposed that Julius II. called Michelagnolo to Rome, soon after his elevation, in the year 1503, *v. Condivi, p.* 16. But Bottari has observed, that the colossal statue of David was not erected at Florence until 1504, after which Michelagnolo executed some other works there, whence he concludes, that Julius did not call him to Rome until the *fourth* or *fifth* year of his pontificate. Bottari is right in his premises, but wrong in his conclusion. Michelagnolo certainly did not quit Florence immediately after the accession of Julius, but his arrival at Rome was as certainly not later than 1505, or the *second* year of the pontificate of Julius, as will appear from subsequent circumstances.

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proper theatre for the display of his powers. His mind laboured with this favourite subject. For several months he is said to have brooded over it in silence, without even tracing an outline; but the meditations of such a mind are not destined to be fruitless, and the result of his deliberations appeared in a design, which far exceeded in elegance, in grandeur, in exquisite ornament, and abundance of statues, every monument of ancient workmanship or imperial splendour. The magnanimous spirit of Julius II. caught new fire from the productions of this wonderful man, and it was at this moment that he formed the resolution of rebuilding the church of St. Peter in a manner worthy of receiving, and of displaying to advantage, so happy an effort of human powers.(a) This task he intrusted to his

(a) That this design first suggested to the pontiff the idea of rebuilding St. Peters, is asserted by Vasari, *vol.* ii. *p.* 83, and again, *vol.* iii. *p.* 211. also by Bottari, *ivi*, *Note* 1. and by Condivi, *Vita di Michelagnolo*, *p.* 19. This monument, which was not completed until long after the death of the pontiff, was not, however, erected in the church of S. Pietrō *Vaticano*, but in that of S. Pietro *in Vinculis*, where it yet remains, *v. Dr. Smith's Tour to the Continent*, *vol.* ii. *p.* 39.

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his favourite architect Bramante; and of the designs formed by him for this purpose, one was selected by the pontiff, which in grandeur, variety, and extent, surpassed all that Rome had seen even in the most splendid days of the republic. The ancient cathedral was demolished with an almost indecent rapidity, insomuch, that many valuable remains of art, and representations and monuments of eminent men, were indiscriminately destroyed. In a short time the modern church of S. Pietro began to rise from the ruins of the former pile, on a scale yet more extensive than it has since been found practicable to complete it. In the execution of this building, as well as in the design, Bramante gave proofs of the wonderful powers of his genius; but the brief limits of human life are not commensurate with such vast projects. Long after the death of both the architect and the pontiff, the church of S. Pietro continued to employ the abilities of the first artists of the time; and by the immense expenses which it occasioned to the Roman see, became the cause, or the pretext, of those exactions throughout Christendom, which immediately led the way to that irreconcileable dissension

sion which we have before had occasion to relate.(a)

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Michelagnolo undertakes the tomb of Julius II.

Having obtained the approbation of the pontiff to the design of his monument, Michelagnolo engaged in the execution of this immense work with all the ardour which was natural to him, and with all the expedition of which so laborious a performance would admit. The colossal figure of Moses, which yet occupies the centre of this astonishing piece of art, was soon completed,(b) and several

(a) "Pertanto quell' edifizio materiale di S. Pietro "rovinò in gran parte il suo edifizio spirituale; perciochè, "a fin d'adunare tanti millioni quanti ne assorbiva l'im- "menso lavoro di quella chiesa, convenne al successore di "Giulio far ciò d'onde prese origine l'Eresia di Lutero, che "hà impoverita di molti più millioni d'anime la chiesa." *Pallavicini, Concil. di Trento, chap.* i. *p.* 49.

(b) This celebrated figure has given rise to a literary production, which has been considered as scarcely inferior in point of sublimity to the statue itself.

SONETTO

Di Giovambattista Zappi.

"Chi è Costui, che in dura pietra scolto,
"Siede gigante, e le più illustre e conte

"Prove

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veral other statues destined to fill their proper stations in the monument, were either finished,

" Prove dell' arte avanza, e ha vive e pronte
" Le labbia sì, che le parole ascolto?
" Quest' è Mosè; ben mel diceva il folto
" Onor del mento, e'l doppio raggio in fronte,
" Quest' è Mosè, quando scendea dal monte,
" E gran parte del Nume avea nel volto.
" Tal era allor, che le sonante e vaste,
" Acque ei sospese a se d'intorno, e tale
" Quando il mar chiuse, e ne fè tomba altrui.
" E voi sue turbe un rio vitello alzate?
" Alzate aveste imago a questo eguale!
" Ch'era men fallo l'adorar costui."

SONNET.

And who is he, that shap'd in sculptur'd stone,
Sits giant-like? stern monument of art
Unparallel'd, whilst language seems to start
From his prompt lips and we his precepts own?
—'Tis Moses; by his beard's thick honours known,
And the twin-beams that from his temples dart;
'Tis Moses; seated on the mount apart,
Whilst yet the Godhead o'er his features shone.
Such once he look'd, when ocean's sounding wave
Suspended hung, and such amidst the storm,
When o'er his foes the refluent waters roar'd.
An idol calf his followers did engrave;
But had they raised this awe-commanding form,
Then had they with less guilt their work ador'd.

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finished, or in a state of great forwardness. The slow progress of the hand of art was, however, ill calculated to correspond with the impatient temper and rapid ideas of the pontiff, who expected by striking the ground with his foot to obtain the accomplishment of his wishes. As the labour continued, and the expense increased, the pontiff became dissatisfied, and at length appeared indifferent to the completion of the work. The demands of Michelagnolo for the charge of conveying the marble from the quarries of Carrara to Rome, were treated with neglect, and when he requested an interview, Julius refused to admit him into his presence. The artist did not long deliberate on the course of conduct which it became him to adopt. He requested the attendants of the pope to inform his holiness, that whenever he chose to inquire for him, he might seek him elsewhere, and immediately taking his departure from Rome, he hastened to Poggibonzi, within the territories of Florence.*(a)* This decisive step equally surprised and chagrined the pontiff. Five successive couriers were dispatched from Rome to pacify the artist, and prevail upon him

(a) Condivi, vita di Michelagn. p. 20.

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him to return; but all that they could obtain from him was only a short letter to the pope, in which he requested his pardon for having so abruptly relinquished his labours, which he assured him he was only induced to do by being driven from his presence; a reward which his faithful services had not merited.(a) Returning to Florence, Michelagnolo employed himself during three months in finishing his design of the Cartoons in the great hall of the city. Whilst he was thus engaged, the pope dispatched to the magistracy of the city three successive briefs, in which he strenuously insisted on their sending Michelagnolo again to Rome. The violence and perseverance of the pontiff, whose character was well known, alarmed Michelagnolo, who began to entertain thoughts of quitting Italy and retreating to Constantinople; but at the entreaties of the Gonfaloniere Soderini, he at length consented to comply with the wishes of the pope by returning once more to Rome. The remonstrances of Soderini to Michelagnolo on this occasion are preserved by Condivi. "Thou hast tried an experiment upon "the pope," said the Gonfaloniere, "upon "which

(a) *Condivi, vita di Michelagn. b.* 20.

" which the king of France would scarcely " have ventured. He must not therefore be " under the necessity of submitting to fur- " ther entreaties, nor must we on thy account " risk the dangers of war and the safety of " the state. Prepare therefore to return, and " if thou hast any apprehensions for thy " safety, thou shalt be invested with the title " of our ambassador, which will sufficiently " protect thee from his wrath."*(a)*

Erects the statue of Julius II. in Bologna.

The reconciliation between Michelagnolo and Julius, took place in the month of November, 1506,*(b)* at Bologna, which place had just before surrendered to the pontifical arms. In consequence of the indisposition of the cardinal Soderini, who was expected to have been the moderator on this occasion, Michelagnolo was introduced by one of the bishops who was attached to the service of the cardinal. The artist submissively waited for the apostolic benediction; but the pope, with an oblique glance and stern countenance, exclaimed, " Instead of coming here to meet

 " us,

(a) Condivi, vita di Michelagn. p. 20.

(b) v. ante, chap. viii. *vol.* ii. *p.* 59.

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"us, thou hast expected that we should come "to look for thee!" Michelagnolo, with due humility, was proceeding to apologize for his precipitancy, when the good bishop, desirous of appeasing the anger of the pope, began to represent to his holiness, that such men as Michelagnolo were ignorant of every thing but the art they professed, and were therefore entitled to pardon. The reply of the pontiff was made with his staff across the shoulders of the bishop, and Julius having thus vented his wrath, gave Michelagnolo his benediction and received him once more into his favour and confidence.(a) On this occasion, that great artist erected, in front of the church of S. Petronio at Bologna, a statue of the pontiff in bronze, which he is said to have executed so as to express in the most energetic manner those qualities by which he was distinguished; giving grandeur and majesty to the person, and courage, promptitude, and fierceness to the countenance, whilst even the drapery was remarkable for the boldness and magnificence of its folds. When Julius saw the model, and observed the vigour of the attitude and the energy with which the right arm

(a) *Condivi, vita di Michelagn. p.* 22.

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arm was extended, he inquired from the artist whether he meant to represent him as dispensing his benediction or his curse; to which Michelagnolo prudently replied, that he meant to represent him in the act of admonishing the citizens of Bologna. In return, the artist requested to know from his holiness whether he would have a book in his hand. "No," replied Julius, "give me a sword. "I am no scholar."*(a)*

Raffaello d' Urbino.

The completion of this statue employed Michelagnolo for sixteen months, at the expiration of which time he repaired once more to Rome. He there met with a yet more powerful, although much younger rival than he had left at Florence, in the celebrated Raffaello d' Urbino. This distinguished painter, Julius II. had, on the recommendation of his architect Bramante, who stood related to Raffaello, invited to Rome; at which city he, as well as Michelagnolo, arrived in the year 1508.*(b)* Raffaello was now twenty-five years

(a) The fate of this statue is before related, *chap.* viii. *vol.* ii. *p.* 123.

(b) It appears from the narrative of Vasari, that Raffaello

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of age, having been born at Urbino in the year 1483. His father was a painter, and although of no great eminence, is supposed to have directed the early studies of his son in their proper track. He was afterwards placed under the tuition of Pietro Perugino, whom he soon rivalled in execution and surpassed in design. After visiting Citta di Castello, where he exercised his talents with great applause, he was called to Siena, to assist the celebrated painter Pinturicchio, who was employed by the cardinal Francesco Piccolomini afterwards Pius III. to decorate the library of the cathedral in that city. Raffaello had already sketched several designs for the work, and had himself executed a part of it, when hearing of the cartoons of Lionardo da Vinci and of Michelagnolo at Florence, he determined to pay a visit to that place, where he arrived in the year 1504, and is enumerated among the young artists who enlarged their judgment and improved their taste from those celebrated

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faello arrived at Rome before Michelagnolo returned from Bologna, after having completed the statue of Julius II. *Vita di Michelagn. in vite de' Pittori*, iii. 219. *v. Marielle Observ. sur la vie de Mich. Ang. par Condivi. p.* 72.

celebrated models.(a) The death of his parents compelled him to return for some time to

(a) " Tutti coloro che su quel cartone studiarono, e tal " cosa disegnarono, diventarono persone in tale arte eccel- " lenti, come vedremo poi; che in tale cartone studiò Aris- " totile da Sangallo amico suo, Ridolfo Grillandajo, *Raffael* " *Sanzio da Urbino*, Francesco Granaccio, Baccio Bandi- " nelli, e Alonzo Berugetto Spagnuolo." *Vasari*, iii. 209. *Ed. Bottari.* It is remarkable, however, that in the first edition of Vasari, in two volumes, *Fior.* 1550. *Raffaello* is not enumerated among the artists who studied from the cartoons of Pisa. The painters there mentioned are Aristotile da San Gallo, Ridolfo Ghirlandajo, Francesco Granacci, Baccio Bandinello, and Alonzo Berugetto; to whom are added Andrea del Sarto, Il Francia Bigio, Jacopo Sansovino, Il Rosso, Maturino, Lorenzetto, Il Tribolo, Jacopo da Pontormo, and Perin del Vaga. That Raffaello studied the works of Michelagnolo, is, however, highly probable, and so far from being derogatory to his character, confers honour both on his diligence and his taste, as a young man of twenty years of age, eager to obtain improvement, and capable of selecting the best models of imitation. The judicious observations of M. Mariette on this subject, deserve the notice of the reader. " Il est vrai que l'un et " l'autre étoient nés deux hommes superieurs; mais M. " Ange est venu le premier, et c' auroit eté une mau- " vaise vanité a Raphael, dont il n'etoit pas capable, que " de negliger d'etudier avec tous les autres jeunes peintres " de son tems, d'apres un ouvrage, qui de l'aveu de tous, " étoit superieur à tout ce qui avoit encore paru." *Mariette, Observ. sur la vie de Michelagn. par Condivi. p.* 72.

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to Urbino, for the arrangement of his domestic concerns, but he soon afterwards paid a second visit to Florence, where he may be said to have completed his professional education, and from the labours of Masaccio in the chapel of the Brancacci, and the works of Michelagnolo and Lionardo da Vinci, to have derived those constituent elements of his design, which, combined by the predominating power of his own genius, formed that attractive manner which unites the sublime and the graceful, in a greater degree than is to be found in the productions of any other master.

Michelagnolo commences his works in the *Capella Sistina*.

Soon after the return of Michelagnolo from Bologna to Rome, the pope, who was well aware of the variety and extent of his talents, formed the resolution of decorating the chapel erected by his uncle Sixtus IV. with a series of paintings on sacred subjects, in a style of grandeur superior to any that had before been produced. The execution of this immense work he committed to Michelagnolo, who, we are told, felt great reluctance in undertaking it, being desirous to proceed with the tomb of the pontiff; and endeavoured to prevail upon the pope, rather to intrust it to Raffaello, who was much more conversant than himself

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himself with the process of painting in fresco. It has also been said, that the pope was prompted to engage Michelagnolo in this employ by the envy or malignity of the enemies of that artist, and particularly of Bramante, who being well aware of the superiority of Michelagnolo as a sculptor, conceived that as a painter he would be found inferior to Raffaello; but imputations of this kind are generally the result of little minds, that attribute to more elevated characters the motives by which they are themselves actuated, and the instances of mutual admiration and good-will which appear in the conduct of Raffaello and Michelagnolo towards each other, are, at least, a sufficient proof that they were both equally superior to an illiberal jealousy. The pontiff, who had destined the talents of Raffaello to another purpose, would however admit of no apology. The paintings with which the chapel had been decorated by the elder masters were immediately destroyed, and the designs for the ceiling by Michelagnolo were commenced. Conscious, however, of his inexperience in the mechanical part of his art, he invited from Florence several painters to his assistance, among whom were Granacci, Giuliano Bugiardini, Jacopo di Sandro, the elder Indaco, Agnolo di Donnino, and Aristotile di San Gallo, who fa-

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some time painted under his directions; but the efforts of these secondary artists were so inadequate to his own conceptions, that he one morning wholly destroyed their labours, and shutting the doors of the chapel against them, refused to admit them to a sight of him. From that moment he proceeded in his work without any assistance, having even prepared his colours with his own hands. The difficulties which he experienced are particularly noticed by his biographer Vasari; but they were conquered by the diligence and perseverance of the artist, who on this occasion availed himself of the experience and advice of Giuliano da S. Gallo. When Michelagnolo had completed one half of the work, the pontiff insisted on its being publicly shewn. The chapel was accordingly opened, the scaffolding removed, and in the year 1511, the populace were gratified with the first specimen of these celebrated productions. The applauses bestowed on them induced the pontiff to urge Michelagnolo to proceed in the work, regardless of the advice of Bramante, who, as we are told, was now desirous that the termination of it should be intrusted to Raffaello. As it approached towards a close, the eagerness and importunity of the pontiff increased. Having impatiently inquired from the artist when he

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he meant to finish it, and Michelagnolo having replied, "When I am able;" "When I am "able!" retorted Julius, in great wrath, "thou hast a mind then that I should have "thee thrown from the scaffold!"*(a)* After this threat, the completion of the work was not long delayed, and on the day of All-Saints, in the year 1512, the paintings were exposed to public view; without, however, having received from the artist the final touches of his pencil. The whole time employed by Michelagnolo in this labour, was twenty months, and he received for it, in different payments, the sum of three thousand crowns.

Such were the circumstances attending the execution of the great works in fresco of Michelagnolo, which yet remain in the chapel of Sixtus IV. although darkened by time, and obscured by the perpetual use of wax tapers in the services of the Roman church. The different compartments of the ceiling were occupied by various subjects of sacred history; and

(a) "Il papa dimandandolo un giorno, quando finirebbe "quella cappella, e rispondendo egli, quando potrò; "*Quando potrò*, egli soggiunse; *Tu hai voglia, ch'io ti "faccia giltar giù di quel palco.*" *Condivi, vita di M. A. ap. Bottari.*

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and on the walls of the chapel, sit in solemn grandeur those sublime and terrific figures of the sybils and prophets, that unfold ideas of form and of character beyond the limits of common nature, and commensurate with the divine functions in which they appear to be engaged.(a) Over the altar piece is the great picture of the last judgment; the master-piece of Michelagnolo, and the admiration and reproach of future artists; but this immense offspring of labour and of genius, although requisite to complete the grand cycle of divine dispensation which the artist had formed in his own mind, was not commenced until the pontificate of Paul III. nearly thirty years after he had terminated the earlier part of his work.

Paintings of Raffaello in the Vatican.

Whilst Michelagnolo was thus employed by Julius II. in the Sistine chapel, Raffaello was engaged in decorating the chambers of the Vatican with those admired productions, which first displayed the extent of his genius, and the wonderful fertility of his invention. He

(a) If the reader wishes to form a proper idea of these productions, I cannot refer him to a better source of information, than to the third discourse of Mr. Fuseli, professor of painting of the Royal Academy of London, published by Johnson, 1801.

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He commenced his labours in the *Camera della Segnatura*, with the celebrated picture, usually, but erroneously, called the dispute on the sacraments; a work so daring in its design, and so complex in its composition, as to have given rise to various conjectures respecting the intention of the artist. The scene comprehends both earth and heaven. The veil of the empyreum is withdrawn. The eternal Father is visible. His radiance illuminates the heavens. The cherubim and seraphim surround him at awful distance. With the one hand he sustains thē earth; with the other he blesses it. Below him, but in another atmosphere, sits the son; who with outstretched hands and a look of extreme compassion, devotes himself for the salvation of mankind. On one side of Christ sits the virgin mother who adores him; on the other, St. John the Baptist who indicates him as the saviour of the world. The great assembly of patriarchs, prophets, evangelists, and martyrs, all of whom are strongly characterized, are seated in the beatific regions and enjoy the divine glory. Among these appears our first parent Adam, now purified from the effect of his transgression. Such is the celestial part of this composition. On earth, the altar appears in the midst supporting the host. On each side are arranged

Picture of Theology.

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arranged various pontiffs, prelates, and doctors of the church, whose writings have illustrated the great mystery of the Trinity. Their attention is not directed to the awful scene above, the view of which is intercepted by thick clouds, but is concentrated in the contemplation of the holy wafer, as the visible and substantial essence of deity. The extremities of the picture to the right and left, are filled by groups of pious and attentive spectators, among whom the painter has introduced the portrait of his relation and patron Bramante.

The high commendations bestowed on this picture, as well at the time it was produced, as by every one who has since had occasion to mention it, are not beyond its merits ;(a) yet to do full justice to the artist, some regard must be had to the state of the art in the age in which he lived. To this may be attributed the formality of the design, by which the two sides of the picture emerge from the centre, and correspond, perhaps too mechanically, to each other;

(a) It has frequently been engraved, particularly by Giorgio Ghisi of Mantua, in a large print of two sheets. A sketch of it has also lately been given by Mr. Duppa, in his life of Raffaello; accompanied by several heads, elegantly engraved after drawings of the same size as the original picture, published by Robinsons, 1802. large fo.

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other; the barbarous custom of gilding some parts of the work, in order to produce a richer effect; and lastly, the extraordinary solecism of introducing an extraneous light, which extends through the whole composition, and affects in the midst of their concentrated glory, the divine characters there represented, in common with the rest of the piece; an error of which artists of much inferior character were soon aware, and which Federico Zuccaro, in his celebrated picture of the Annunciation, in the church of the Jesuits at Rome, was careful to avoid.(a)

This representation of theology was followed by that of philosophy, exemplified in the Gymnasium or school of Athens, where, in a splendid amphitheatre, the ancient philosophers are introduced as instructing their pupils

(a) It is remarkable, that in order to shew his decided intention, Zuccaro has, in this work, represented the sun rising in full splendour, a circumstance which produces no effect of light and shadow on the picture, the beams of the sun being absorbed in the superior light which issues immediately from the Deity. This picture is described by Vasari, in his life of Taddeo, the brother of Federigo; *Vite, vol.* iii. *p.* 161, 162, and has been carefully engraved by J. Sadeler, 1580.

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pupils in the various departments of human knowledge. Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, are characteristically distinguished. Empedocles, Epicharmus, Archytas, Diogenes, and Archemides, pursue their various avocations. The presiding deities are Apollo and Minerva, exhibited in their statues. A noble youth, in a white mantle ornamented with gold, is said to represent Francesco Maria della Rovere, great nephew of the pontiff. Another youth, attentive to the demonstrations of Archimedes, is supposed by Vasari to be the portrait of Federigo marquis of Mantua, who was then at Rome; and in the person of Archimedes, the artist has again taken an opportunity of perpetuating the likeness of Bramante.

Philosophy.

Poetry.

The subject of the picture intended as a representation of poetry, is the assembly of Apollo and the Muses on the summit of mount Parnassus. The most distinguished characters of ancient and modern times are there introduced. The father of epic poetry, in an attitude of great dignity, recites his compositions. Virgil points out to Dante the track he is to pursue. Of living authors, only Sanazzaro and Tebaldeo are admitted into these regions of poetic immortality. The artist has, however, claimed a place for himself in this august assembly. He appears near to Virgil, crowned

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crowned with laurel, "and is deservedly admitted," says his warm admirer Bellori, "into that Parnassus, where he drank from "his infancy the waters of Hippocrene and "was nursed by the Muses and the Graces."(a) The representation of jurisprudence includes two distinct actions, at two distant periods of time, which are rendered, however, less objectionable by their being separated by the position of the window. On one side sits Gregory IX. who delivers the decretals to an advocate of the consistory; but under the character of that pontiff, the painter has introduced the portrait of Julius II. In the cardinals who surround the pope he has also represented those of his own times, and particularly the cardinal Giovanni de' Medici, afterwards Leo X. Antonio cardinal del Monte, and the cardinal Alessandro Farnese afterwards Paul III. On the left side of the window appears the emperor Justinian, who intrusts the Pandects to Trebonian. By these incidents the painter evidently intended to exhibit the establishment and completion of civil and of canon law. Above the window, the virtues of prudence, temperance, and fortitude,

Jurisprudence.

(a) *Bellori, Descritt, &c. p. 53.*

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tude, the indispensable attendants on justice, are displayed in their proper symbols. The labours of Raffaello in this chamber form a complete series. His object was to exemplify, in a picturesque manner, the four principal sciences, the guides and instructors of human life. The key to this, if any were wanting, is found in the single figures painted in circles in the ceiling, above each picture, and decisively marking the intention of the artist. Above the representation of the Trinity is the emblematical figure of Theology; above the school of Athens, that of Philosophy; above the Parnassus, Poetry; and above the Jurisprudence, that of Justice; four figures in which the peculiar grace and manner of the artist are not less displayed than in the more laborious compositions beneath. The basement and interstices of the room are richly ornamented with paintings in chiaro-scuro, executed after the designs of Raffaello, by Fra. Giovanni of Verona; among which are several emblematical and historical works illustrating the same subjects. Under the arch of the window of this chamber, which looks towards the gardens of the Belvedere, is yet inscribed, JULIUS II. LIGUR. PONT. MAX. ANN. CHR. MDXI. PONTIFICAT. SUI. VII.

This

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This precise period, when Raffaello had finished the first series of his labours in the Vatican, and Michelagnolo exposed to public view a part of his paintings in the Sistine chapel, recalls to consideration a question which has been discussed with great warmth, and at great extent, by the writers on this subject;*(a) Whether Raffaello acquired a greater style from observing the works of Michelagnolo?* This contest originated with Vasari, who informs us in his Life of Raffaello, that when Michelagnolo was obliged to retreat from Rome to Florence, on account of his dissensions with Julius II. in the Sistine chapel, Bramante, who kept the keys of the chapel, secretly introduced his relation Raffaello, and allowed him the inspection of the work; in consequence of which he not only painted anew the figure of Isaiah which he had then just finished, above the statue of S. Anna by Sansovino in the church of S. Agostino, but afterwards enlarged and improved his manner by giving it greater majesty; insomuch

Whether Raffaello improved his style by the works of Michelagnolo.

(a) Particularly by Vasari, Condivi, Bellori, Giuseppe Crespi in the Lettere Pittoriche, Bottari in his notes on Vasari, and finally by Lanzi with great judgment, but perhaps with too evident a partiality to Raffaello.

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somuch that Michelagnolo on his return was aware, from the style of Raffaello, of the transactions which had occurred during his absence.(a) On this story, it must, however, be acknowledged that little reliance can be placed: Condivi, who is supposed to have written the life of Michelagnolo under the immediate inspection of that great artist,(b) alludes

(a) " Avvenne adunque in questo tempo *che Michel-* " *agnolo fece al Papa nella capella quel romore e paura* " *di che parleremo nella vita sua*, onde fu forzato fuggirsi " a Fiorenza; per il che avendo Bramante la chiave della " capella, a Raffaello, come amico, la fece vedere, ac- " ciochè i modi di Michelagnolo comprendere potesse. " Onde tal vista fu cagione, che in Sant. Agostino sopra " la Sant' Anna d' Andrea Sansovino, in Roma, Raffaello " subito rifacesse di nuovo lo Esaia Profeta, che ci si vede, " che di già l' aveva finito. Nella quale opera, per le " cose vedute di Michelagnolo, migliorò ed ingrandì fuor " di modo la maniera, e diedele più maestà; perchè nel " veder poi Michelagnolo l'opera di Raffaello, pensò che " Bramante, come era vero, gli avesse fatto quel male in- " nanzi, per fare utile e nome a Raffaello." *Vas. Vita de' Pittori. vol.* ii. *p.* 104.

(b) " Plus je lis cette vie," says M. Mariette, " plus " je suis convaincu, que l'auteur l'ecrivoit presque sous la " dictée de Michel-Ange. Il y regne un air de verité que " n'a point celle de Vasari." *Observations sur la vie de M. A. de Condivi, p.* 72.

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alludes to no such circumstance; to which it may be added, that the quarrel between Julius II. and Michelagnolo occurred whilst the latter was employed in preparing the tomb of the pontiff, long before the commencement of the works in the Sistine chapel; and that it does not appear that he ever quitted Rome in disgust after such work was begun, although Vasari in his life of Raffaello, promises to relate such an incident when he treats on the life of Michelagnolo. So far, however, is he from performing his promise, that when he arrives at this period in the life of Michelagnolo, he not only forgets or declines to relate this incident, but expressly assigns the first sight which Raffaello had of the Sistine chapel, to the period when Michelagnolo publicly exposed a part of his work; from the consideration of which, as he then tells us, Raffaello instantly changed his manner, and adopted the great style which he displayed in his future productions.*(a)* We may therefore reject the story

(a) " Trasse, subito che fu scoperto, tutta Roma a " vedere, ed il Papa fu il primo, non avendo pazienza che " abbassasse la polvere per il disfare de' palchi; dove Raf- " faello

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of the private visit of Raffaello to the Sistine chapel, on the authority of Vasari himself.(a) But the question will equally recur; *Whether*

" faello da Urbino, che era molto eccellente in imitare, " vistola, mutò subito maniera, e fece a un tratto per " mostrare la virtù sua, i profeti e le sibille dell' opera " della pace; e Bramante allora tentò, che l' altrà metà " della capella si desse dal Papa a Raffaello." *Vasari, Vite de' Pittori*, iii. 222.

(a) The origin of Vasari's error is discoverable by a comparison of the original edition of his lives, in 1550, with those which followed it. In this first edition we find no account of any quarrel between Julius and Michelagnolo respecting his tomb; but in relating the circumstances attending the painting the Sistine chapel, Vasari informs us, that the pope was eager to see the progress of the work, for which purpose he had paid a visit to the chapel, where he was refused admittance by Michelagnolo. That the artist knowing the inflexible temper of the pontiff, and being apprehensive that some of his attendants might be induced, either by bribes or threats, to admit him, pretended to quit Rome for a few days, and gave the keys to his assistants, with orders that no one should be allowed to enter, even if it were the pope himself. He then shut himself up in the chapel, and proceeded with his labours, when the pope made his appearance, and was the first to mount the scaffold; but Michelagnolo, pretending not to know him, saluted him with a shower of tiles and slates, insomuch that he was glad to effect his escape. Immediately afterwards, Michelagnolo quitted the chapel through a window, and

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Whether Raffaello invigorated and enlarged his style from the works of Michelagnolo?

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Circumstances decisive of the controversy.

Without engaging in a minute examination of the opinions of the many different writers who have embraced opposite sides of this question, so interesting to the admirers of the fine arts,(a) it may be sufficient to advert to

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and hastened to Florence, leaving the key of the chapel with Bramante. *Vas. vol.* ii. *p.* 963. *Ed.* 1550. Better information, or a further consideration of the subject, convinced Vasari of his error, and in his subsequent edition, he has, in his life of Michelagnolo, properly assigned the flight of Michelagnolo to a former period, when he was employed on the tomb of Julius II. and omitted the story of the disagreement in the chapel. Through inadvertence, however, he left the reference to this incident in the life of Raffaello, as it originally stood, in which he has been followed by subsequent editors; whence the passage in which he alludes to the time, "che Michelagnolo fece al Papa "nella capella quel romore e paura di che parleremo nella "vita sua: onde fu forzato a fuggirsi a Fiorenza," has no corresponding passage, except by a reference back again to the life of Raffaello, in the later editions of his works.

(a) Bellori boldly denies that Raffaello imitated the manner of Michelagnolo in any respect whatever, "sia il "disegno, il colore, l'ignudo, i panni; o sia l'idea e il "concetto

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to two circumstances which seem to be sufficiently decisive of the controversy. I. By a reference to the works of Raffaello, even as they may be seen through the medium of the elder engravings by contemporary artists, it is not difficult to perceive a gradual alteration and improvement of his style, from the meagre forms of Perugino, to the full but modest outline of his riper productions. That this was the result of patient study and judicious selection, is evident from the visible gradations by which it was formed; and what master of this period was so deserving of being studied by Raffaello as Michelagnolo? It was to this circumstance that Michelagnolo himself referred, with equal truth and delicacy, when he said, that Raffaello did not derive his excellence so much from nature, as from persevering study; an expression which has been considered as unjust to the pretensions of the Roman artist, but which on the contrary, confers on him the highest praise.(a) II. The

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"concetto dell' invenzione," an assertion which has been controverted with great success by Crespi, *Lettere Pittoriche*, *vol.* ii. *p.* 123.

(a) "Anzi (Michelagnolo) ha sempre lodato univer-

"salmente

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II. The expression attributed by Condivi, to Raffaello, without contradiction by other writers, that he thanked God that he had been born in the time of Michelagnolo, is a sufficient indication that he had availed himself of the labours of his great contemporary, and refers to the opportunities which had been afforded him of improving his style by the study of them, as well in his youth at Florence, as in his riper years at Rome.(a) The study of Raffaello was not, however, imitation, but selection. The works of Michelagnolo were to him a rich magazine; but he rejected as well as approved. The muscular forms, daring outline, and energetic attitudes of the Florentine artist, were harmonized and softened in the elegant and graceful productions of the pencil of Raffaello. It is thus that Homer

" salmente tutti, etiam Raffaello da Urbino, infra il quale " e lui già fu qualche contesa nella pittura; solamente gli " ho sentito dire, che Raffaello non ebbe quest' arte da " natura, ma per lungo studio." *Condivi, vita di Michelagn. p.* 56.

(a) " Raffaello d'Urbino, quantunque volesse con- " correr con Michelagnolo, più volte ebbe a dire, che " ringraziava Iddio d'esser nato al suo tempo, avendo ri- " tratta da lui altra maniera di quella, che del padre, che " dipintor fu, e dal Perugino suo maestro avea imparata." *Ibid.*

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Homer was imitated by Virgil; and it is thus that genius always attracts and assimilates with itself whatever is excellent, either in the works of nature or the productions of art.(a)

Picture of Heliodorus.

The labours of Raffaello in the *Camera della Segnatura*, had obtained the full approbation of the pontiff, and a second apartment contiguous to the former, was destined to receive its inestimable ornaments from his hand. The subject first chosen by Raffaello was the story of Heliodorus, the præfect of king Seleucus, who, whilst he was employed in plundering the temple of Jerusalem of the treasures intended for the support of the widows and orphans, was assailed by a formidable warrior and two celestial youths, whom the prayers of Onias the high priest had called to his aid. The pencil is no less the instrument

(a) The judicious Lanzi, although warmly attached to the cause of Raffaello, sufficiently admits, that he attained a bolder style of design from the works of Michelagnolo. "Nel rimanente non avria, credo (Raffaello) negato mai, "che gli esempj di Michelangiolo gli avean inspirata certa "maggiore arditezza di disegno, e che nel carattere forse "gli avea talora imitati. Ma come imitati? *Col rendere*, "riflette il Crespi medesimo, *quella maniera più bella e* "*più maestosa.*" *Lanzi, Storia Pittorica.* i. 396.

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instrument of flattery than the pen, and in this piece the artist is supposed to have alluded to the conduct of Julius II. who had driven the tyrants and usurpers of the patrimony of St. Peter from their possessions, and united them with those of the church.(a) This idea is confirmed by the introduction of the pontiff, as being witness of this miraculous interposition. He is carried in his chair of state, and is surrounded by numerous attendants, in some of whom the painter has represented the portraits of his friends. Among these are the celebrated engraver Marc-Antonio Raimondi one of the disciples of Raffaello, and Giampietro de' Foliari secretary of the petitions to the Roman see. Over the window which occupies part of another side of the apartment, the painter has represented the celebration of the Mass at Bolsena; in which, to the confusion of the incredulous priest who officiated at the altar, the holy wafer miraculously dropped blood. In this piece also the pontiff is introduced, kneeling in prayer and intent on the celebration of the mass. He is attended by two cardinals and two prelates of the court, probably

(a) *Bellori, descrill. p.* 67, 71.

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bly friends of the artist, although the resemblances are now no longer known. In these works Raffaello demonstrated, that with a grander character of design, he had also acquired a greater knowledge of the effects of light and shadow, and a more perfect harmony of colour; insomuch, that he may justly be said to have united and exemplified in himself, at this period, all the great requisites of the art.

Leo X. engages Michelagnolo to rebuild the church of S. Lorenzo at Florence.

Such was the progress which had been made in these pursuits, and such the state of them in the city of Rome, when Leo X. was called to the pontifical throne. One of the earliest objects of the attention of the new pontiff was the rebuilding, in a most splendid manner, the church of S. Lorenzo at Florence, for which purpose he resolved to avail himself of the great architectural talents of Michelagnolo, who was then employed under the cardinals Lorenzo Pucci and Leonardi Grossi in finishing the tomb of Julius II. A model was accordingly prepared, and Michelagnolo was directed to proceed to Florence and take the sole direction of the work. He was, however, unwilling to relinquish an undertaking, which he perhaps considered as more worthy of his talents, and endeavoured

to

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to excuse himself to the pontiff, by alleging that he stood engaged to the two cardinals to complete the tomb. Leo, however, informed him, that he should take it upon himself to satisfy them in this respect, and Michelagnolo, contrary to his wishes, was obliged to repair to Florence. Genius resembles a proud steed, that whilst he obeys the slightest touch of the kind hand of a master, revolts at the first indication of compulsion and of restraint. Every incident became a cause of contention between the artist and his patron. Michelagnolo preferred the marble of Carrara; the pope directed him to open the quarries of Pietra Santa in the territories of Florence, the material of which was of a hard and intractable kind.*(a)* The artist had called on the envoy of the pope for a sum of money, and finding him engaged, had not only refused to wait for it, but when it was sent after him to Carrara, had rejected it with contempt.*(b)* Under these discouraging circumstances, the proposed building made but little progress.

(a) Condivi, Vita di Michelagnolo, p. 30, 31.

(b) Vasari, Vita di Michelagnolo. Vite de' Pittori, iii. 233.

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progress. The ardour of the pontiff was chilled by the cold reluctance of the artist. During the life of Leo the work did not proceed beyond the basement, and a single column of marble brought from Carrara, served only as a memorial of the unfortunate disagreement which had prevented the erection of this splendid fabric. In fact the talents of Michelagnolo owe little to the patronage of Leo X. the interval of whose pontificate forms the most inactive part of the life of that great artist. A few models and designs for ornaments of internal architecture, are the principal works which the vigilance of his historians has been able to discover during that period; and it was not until after the death of the pontiff that Michelagnolo returned to his favourite task, the completion of the tomb of Julius II. and commenced under the directions of Clement VII. those splendid monuments for the chiefs of the Medici family, which have conferred greater honour on himself than on those for whom they were erected.*(a)*

The

(a) It has before been noticed that Michelagnolo distinguished himself by his Italian poetry; and I shall take this

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The individual who, as an artist, forms the chief glory of the pontificate of Leo X. is the accomplished Raffaello; who, uniting to an elevated genius and a great variety of talents, the most engaging modesty and complacency of manner, attracted in an eminent degree the favour and munificence of the pontiff. Under such patronage, the works already commenced in the chambers of the Vatican proceeded with increased ardour. The first subject in which Raffaello engaged after the elevation of Leo X. was the representation of Attila king of the Huns, opposed and driven from Italy, by the admonitions of the sainted pontiff Leo III. which occupies one of the sides of the apartment

Raffaello proceeds in painting the frescos of the Vatican.

Picture of Attila.

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this last opportunity to observe, that his writings, although not marked by splendid imagery and striking ornament, bear the same elevated character as the productions of his chisel and his pencil. His ideas are all drawn from the same source; and whether embodied in visible forms, or expressed through the medium of language, discover the same indications of their superior origin. Throughout his whole life he appears to have been impressed with a deep religious feeling. His poems in fact are not amatory; although many of them apparently bear that character. The beauty which he admires and celebrates is not sensual. Through the perfections of the creature he contemplates only the Creator, and the breathings of his passion are breathings after immortality.

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ment in which Raffaello had before represented the Heliodorus and the miracle at Bolsena. The conception of this picture affords a decisive proof, that Raffaello combined the fancy of the poet with the skill of the painter. He saw, that to have exhibited a fierce and exasperated warrior retiring with his army at the pacific admonition of a priest, could only have produced an insipid and uninteresting effect. But how greatly is this incident dignified, how much is its importance increased, by the miraculous interposition of St. Peter and St. Paul, the chief protecting saints of the Roman church, who descending through the air in menacing attitudes, although visible only to the monarch, inspire him with that terror which the astonished spectators attribute to the eloquence and courage of the pontiff! *(a)* Nor is it to be supposed, that this incident detracts from the merits of S. Leo, whose character and conduct derive from such auxiliaries higher honours, than the display of any mortal talents could bestow. That which appears to the faithful believer as a miracle, is,

(a) The Attila has been engraved, not only from the picture, but from the original design of *Raffaello*, *v. Bottari, nota al Vasari*, ii. 109.

is, however, in the eye of the discriminating critic, only an elegant and expressive allegory, by which the artist insinuates that on this important occasion, the pontiff was actuated by the genuine spirit of religion and a true regard for the honour and safety of the Christian church. In such instances the sister arts assimilate with each other, and the *pictura loquens*, and the *muta poesis* are synonymous terms.

Its allegorical purpose explained.

All the powers of mind and of mechanism displayed by Raffaello in this picture, are, however, only the subordinate instruments of one great purpose; that of flattering the reigning pontiff. Even S. Leo himself and his dignified attendants become only supposititious personages, intended to immortalize Leo X. and the cardinals and prelates of his court, whose portraits are actually substituted for those of their predecessors in the honours and dignities of the Roman see. Here a new allegory commences, which has hitherto wholly escaped the observation of the numerous commentators on these celebrated productions. To have represented Leo X. as living in the time of Leo III. would have been an anachronism. To have exhibited him as miraculously expelling Attila from Italy, would have been a falsehood. But Attila himself is only the type

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type of the French monarch Louis XII. whom Leo had, within the first months of his pontificate, divested of the state of Milan and expelled from the limits of Italy.(a) Here the allegory is complete; and here we discover the reason, why, amidst the real or fictitious transactions of past ages, this particular incident should have been selected for the pencil of the artist, and why he has chosen to treat it in the manner already described.

The

(a) It has already been observed, that the triumph of Camillus, represented at Florence, in the year 1514, was intended to commemorate the same event. *v. ante, chap.* xii. *vol.* ii. *p.* 444. The above construction of the intention of the artist, in the picture of Attila, may receive further confirmation from a Latin poem of Lilio Gregorio Gyraldi, which purports to be a hymn to Saint Leo, but which is, in fact, intended, like the picture, to celebrate the conduct of Leo X. in expelling the French from Italy. It is highly probable that this poem was written before the picture of Raffaello was painted, as otherwise its author would scarcely have omitted so striking and poetical an incident, as the appearance of the two heavenly auxiliaries; an incident not related in the legend, but devised by the painter, to express, in a poetical manner, the effects of the pontiff's exhortations. This poem, not printed in the general collection of the works of Gyraldi, may be found in the Appendix, No. CCVII.

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Liberation of St. Peter.

The liberation of St. Peter from prison by the interposition of an angel, was the next subject which Raffaello undertook. This picture is opposite to that of the mass of Bolsena, and over the window of the apartment which looks towards the Belvedere. Flights of marble steps seem to ascend on each side the window to the prison, which is illuminated by the splendour of its heavenly visitant, who with one hand gently awakes the sleeping saint, and with the other points towards the door already open for his escape. In this piece the artist alludes to the capture of Leo X. at the battle of Ravenna and his subsequent liberation.(a) In four compartments of the ceiling, formed by arabesque ornaments in chiaroscuro, executed before Raffaello commenced his labours and which he left untouched, he has introduced four subjects of scripture history. Over the picture of Heliodorus is the representation of the Eternal Father, who promises to Moses the liberation of the children of Israel. Over that of Attila is Noah returning thanks to God after the deluge. Over the mass of Bolsena is the sacrifice of Abraham; and over the liberation of St. Peter,

(a) *Bellori descritt. p.* 97.

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the dream of Jacob, with the angels ascending and descending. Above the window of this apartment, which looks towards the Belvedere, yet remain the arms of Leo X. with the inscription, LEO X. PONT. MAX. ANNO. CHR. MDXIV. PONTIFICATUS SUI. II.

Works executed by Raffaello for Agostino Chigi.

The reputation which Raffaello had acquired by the first part of his works in the Vatican, occasioned the productions of his pencil to be sought after with eagerness by the prelates and wealthy inhabitants of Rome. Of these no one displayed greater earnestness to obtain them, than the opulent merchant Agostino Chigi, who in his admiration and munificent encouragement of Raffaello almost vied with the pontiff himself.(a) Even under the

(a) Of the liberality of Agostino towards the professors of literature, some account has already been given in this work, *ante*, *chap.* xi. *vol.* ii. *p.* 360. It is remarkable, that Agostino had supported his credit for integrity and ability, and had enjoyed the favour of several successive pontiffs. Under Alexander VI. he is said to have converted even his silver plate into coin, for the use of Cæsar Borgia, on his expedition into Romagna. He acted not only as banker, but as superintendent of the finances to Julius II. who honoured him by a sort of adoption into the family of Rovere. But it was not only in his patronage of letters and of the

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the pontificate of Julius II. Agostino had prevailed upon Raffaello to execute for him, in his newly erected and elegant mansion in the Transtevere, now called the *Farnesina*, a picture in fresco, representing Galatea borne in a car

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the arts, that Agostino emulated the Roman pontiffs; he vied with them also in the luxury of his table, and the costly and ostentatious extravagance of his feasts. On the baptism of one of his children, he is said to have invited Leo X. with the whole college of cardinals and the foreign ambassadors at Rome, to an entertainment, in which he provided the greatest delicacies, and among the rest, several dishes of *Parrot's tongues*, variously cooked. The plates, goblets, and vessels, were all of wrought silver, and when once used, were thrown into the Tiber, which flowed near the house. If we may credit Paullus Jovius, Agostino was one of the admirers of the beautiful Imperia. *v. ante, chap.* xi. *vol.* ii. *p.* 325. For these anecdotes the reader will find the authorities in Bayle, *Dict. Histor. Art. Chigi;* observing, however, that the authors whom he cites are, as is usual with him, of very doubtful authority. After the death of Agostino, the family of Chigi were driven from Rome by Paul III. who seized upon their mansion in the Transtevere, and converted it into a sort of appendage to the Farnese palace, whence it has since been called the *Farnesina*. But in the ensuing century, the family of Chigi rose to pontifical honours in the person of Alexander VII. *Fabio Chigi;* who established it in great credit, without, however, restoring to it the family mansion, which has descended with the possessions of the Farnese to the king of Naples, to whom it now belongs.

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car over the waves by dolphins and surrounded by tritons and sea nymphs.(a) This was soon afterwards followed by the paintings in the family chapel of Agostino, erected by him in the church of S. Maria della Pace at Rome. In this work, which, if we may believe Vasari, was commenced by Raffaello after he had seen the productions of Michelagnolo in the Sistine chapel,(b) he undertook to represent the sybils; in which he united a grander style of design than he had before displayed with a greater perfection of colouring, insomuch that these pieces are enumerated amongst the most exquisite productions of his pencil.(c) In the intervals of his engagements with Leo X. Raffaello returned to the house of his friend Agostino,

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(a) The print engraved from this picture by Marc-Antonio, is rare and valuable; it has also been engraved by several subsequent artists, but in a much inferior style.

(b) *Vasari, Vite de' Pittori*, ii. 104.

(c) "Quest' opera," says Vasari, "lo fe stimar "grandemente vivo, e morto per essere la più rara, ed ec- "cellente opera che Raffaello facesse in vita sua." *Vasari*, ii. 104. This highly commended work has never been well engraved, and having now been injured from want of care, and retouched by inferior hands, may be considered as lost to the world.

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Agostino, where he decorated one of the apartments with the history of Cupid and Psyche, in a series of pictures, and represented in the ceiling, in two large compartments, Venus and Cupid pleading against each other before Jupiter in the assembly of the Gods, and the marriage of Cupid and Psyche.*(a)* This labour, was, however, frequently interrupted by the occasional absence of the artist, who being passionately enamoured of a beautiful young woman, the daughter of a baker in Rome, whence she was usually called *La Fornarina*, deserted his occupation for the sake of her society; a circumstance of which Agostino was no sooner aware, than he prevailed upon her to take up her abode in his house, and Raffaello in her presence proceeded in his work with great diligence.*(b)* Nor was it as a painter only that Raffaello devoted his talents to

(a) In this work Raffaello is supposed to have been assisted by some of his scholars. Some parts of it have been engraved by Marc-Antonio or his pupils, and the whole of it by Cherubino Alberti, by Audran, and by Nicolo Dorigny, *v. Bottari, note on Vasari*, ii. 122. Dr. Smith has given a full account of this celebrated work, in his Tour on the Continent, *vol.* ii. *p.* 2.

(b) Vasari, Vite de' Pittori, ii. 122.

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to the service of his friend. As an architect he furnished Agostino with the designs from which he erected his before mentioned chapel, and even favoured him with a drawing for the elevation of his stables. He also undertook to superintend the execution of a magnificent sepulchre, which Agostino, in imitation of Julius II. was desirous of having prepared in his own lifetime, and which was intended to have been erected in his chapel. The workmanship was intrusted to the sculptor Lorenzetto, who executed two figures in marble as a part of the sepulchre, after models said to have been furnished by Raffaello, when the further progress of it was interrupted by the death of both Raffaello and his patron.(a) One of these figures is the celebrated statue of Jonah, which is allowed to exhibit a degree of excellence scarcely exceeded by the finest remains of ancient art.(b) To this period of the

(a) These events were not far distant from each other; Agostino having died at Rome, on the tenth day of April, 1520. *v. Fabron. Vita Leon.* x. *in adnot.* 137. *p.* 313.

(b) The statue of Jonah, with the other statue which was not finished by Lorenzetto, occupy two niches in front of the Chigi Chapel, in the church of S. Maria *del Popolo*, at Rome; the other two niches being filled with statues by Bernini.

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the life of Raffaello may be assigned the production of many of his pictures in oil, which were eagerly sought after, not only in Rome, but in other parts of Italy, and have since formed the chief ornaments of the most celebrated cabinets in Europe. Nor did he less distinguish himself by the excellence of his portraits, in which the utmost degree of truth and of nature was embellished by that ineffable grace, which like the splendour that surrounds the pictured features of a saint, gives to all his works a character of divinity. Among these his portrait of Leo X. attended by the cardinals Giulio de' Medici and Luigi Rossi, is eminently distinguished; and the applauses bestowed for nearly three centuries on this picture, whilst it remained in the ducal gallery at Florence, will now be re-echoed from another part of Europe.(a)

These

Bernini. In their unbounded admiration of the statue of Jonah, the Italians have been rivalled by many accomplished strangers who have visited Italy, and been struck with the exquisite design and perfect style of execution which this performance displays. A very particular and animated description of it may be found in Dr. Smith's *Tour on the Continent*, *vol.* ii. *p.* 23.

(a) This picture must have been painted between the years

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Roman school of art.

These engagements did not, however, prevent this indefatigable artist from prosecuting his labours in the Vatican, and a third apartment was destined by Leo X. to receive its ornaments from his talents; but human efforts have their limits; and Raffaello, whilst he furnished the designs, and diligently superintended the execution of the work, frequently giving the last finish with his own hand, found it necessary to employ young artists of promising talents in the more laborious parts of the undertaking. Hence arose the school of Raffaello, or, as it has usually been denominated in the annals of painting, the *Roman school* of design; the professors of which, without emulating the bold contours of the Florentine artists, or the splendid tints of the Venetians, have united with chastity of design, an appropriate gravity of colouring, and displayed a grace and a decorum not less interesting than the more obtrusive excellences of their rivals. The subjects represented in this apartment are selected from the history of those distinguished pontiffs, who had borne the same name as the reigning pope. The coronation

years 1517 and 1519; as it was only during that time that Rossi enjoyed the dignity of the purple. It now forms a part of the immense collection of the Louvre.

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coronation of Charlemagne by Leo III. and the justification of the same pontiff from the accusations preferred against him to that monarch, occupy two sides of the room. The other two exhibit the victory of S. Leo IV. over the Saracens at the Port of Ostia, and the miraculous extinction of the conflagration in the *Borgo Vecchio* at Rome; incidents which we may be assured were not selected without a reference to the views and conduct of the reigning pontiff, who in raising these monuments to the memory of his illustrious predecessors, meant to prepare the way to the more direct celebration of the transactions of his own life;*(a)* but the time was fast approaching which terminated these magnificent projects; and the actions of Leo X. were destined to be commemorated in another place, and by a much inferior hand.*(b)*

The

(a) This apartment was finished in the year 1517, as appears by the inscription over the window towards the Belvedere, where, under the arms of Leo X. we read

Leo X. Pont. M.	Pontificatus
Anno Christi.	sui anno
MCCCCCXVII.	IIII.

(b) The grand duke Cosmo I. employed Giorgio Vasari,

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Loggie of Raffaello.

The galleries of the Vatican, intended to unite the detached parts of that immense fabric, and usually denominated the *Loggie*, having been left by Bramante in an unfinished state, Leo X. prevailed upon Raffaello, who had already given several specimens of his skill in

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ri, the historian of the painters, to represent, in fresco, on the walls of his palace at Florence, the achievements of the family of Medici, commencing with the elder Cosmo, *Pater Patriæ*, proceeding through those of Lorenzo the Magnificent, Leo X. Clement VII. the duke Alessandro, Giovanni, captain of the *Bande Nere*, and terminating with those of Cosmo I. Of this immense labour Vasari has himself left an account, not less diffuse and ostentatious than the work itself, in a series of dialogues, entitled RAGIONAMENTI *del Signor Cavaliere Giorgio Vasari, Pittore e Architetto Aretino, sopra le invenzioni da lui dipinte in Firenze, nel palazzo di loro Altezze Serenissime, con le illustriss. ed eccellentiss. Signore D. Franc... Medici allora Principe di Firenze*, which was published after the death of Vasari, by his nephew, in 1588, and reprinted at Arezzo, in 1762. 4*to*. Of the style in which this work is written, and of the manner in which Vasari thought fit to represent the principal incidents in the life of Leo X. the reader may find a specimen in the Appendix, No. CCVIII. As an artist, Vasari has incurred the severe, but I fear, too well founded reprehensions of the present professor of painting to the royal academy; who denominates him "the most superficial artist, "and the most abandoned mannerist of his time, but the "most acute observer of men, and the most dexterous flat-

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in architecture, to undertake the completion of the work. He accordingly formed a model for that purpose, in which he introduced great improvements on the design of Bramante, arranged the whole in a more convenient manner, and displayed the elegance of his taste in various appropriate ornaments. The execution of this plan gave great satisfaction to the pontiff; who being desirous that the interior embellishments of this part of the palace should correspond with its exterior beauty, directed Raffaello to make designs for such ornamental works in painting, carving, and stucco, as he thought most suitable for the purpose. This afforded the artist an opportunity of displaying his knowledge of the antique, and his skill in imitating the ancient grotesque and arabesque ornaments, specimens of which then began to be discovered, as well in Italy as in other places; and which were collected from

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" terer of princes. He overwhelmed the palaces of the " Medici and the popes, the convents and churches of Italy, " with a deluge of mediocrity, commended by rapidity and " shameless *bravura* of hand. He alone did more work " than all the artists of Tuscany together; and to him may " be truly applied what he had the insolence to say of Tin- " toretto, that he turned the art into a boy's toy." *Fuseli's 2d Lecture, p. 72.*

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from all parts at considerable expense by Raffaello, who also employed artists in various parts of Italy and even in Greece and Turkey, to furnish him with drawings of whatever remains of antiquity might appear deserving of notice.*(a)* The execution of this great work was chiefly intrusted to two of his scholars, Giulio Romano and Giovanni da Udine; the former of whom superintended the historical department, the latter the stucco and grotesques, in the representation and exquisite finish of which he excelled all the artists of his time; but various other artists, who had already arrived at considerable eminence, were employed in the work and laboured with great assiduity. Among these were Giovanni Francesco Penni called *Il Fattore*, Bartolommeo da Bagnacavallo, Perino del Vaga, Pellegrino da Modena, and Vincenzo da S. Gemignano.*(b)* In

(a) Vasari, vite de' Pittori, ii. 118. A print of the time of Raffaello is in my possession, representing the base of a column, ornamented with *bas reliefs* of two female figures, each supporting a buckler; between them a large circle or shield, with the letters S. P. Q. R. and below, three boys with festoons of flowers. At the foot is inscribed,

Bazamento d. la colona d. Constantinopolo
mandato a Rafelo da Urbino.

This print, although not marked, is engraved by Agostino Veneziano.

(b) Vasari, Vite de' Pittori, ii. 118.

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In the various compartments of the ceiling Raffaello designed a series of pictures from sacred history, some of which are supposed to have been finished with his own hand, and the rest by his pupils under his immediate direction.(a) The great extent and variety of this undertaking, the fertility of imagination displayed by Raffaello in his designs, the condescension and kindness with which he treated his pupils who attended him in great numbers whenever he appeared in public, and the liberality of the pontiff in rewarding their labours, all combined to render the Vatican at this period a perfect nursery of art. Among the lowest assistants, a boy had been employed in carrying the composition of lime and other materials requisite for the works in fresco. From daily observing these productions he began to admire them, and from admiring to wish to imitate them. His meditations, although secret,

(a) The paintings of Raffaello in the Loggie have frequently been engraved in fifty-two pieces, and are known by the name of the Bible of Raffaello; particularly by Giovanni Lanfranco and Sisto Badalocchi, pupils of Annibale Carracci, to whom they dedicated the work in 1607, and by Horatio Borgianni in 1615, as well as by many subsequent artists; for a further account of whom, *v. Bottari, note on Vasari, vol.* ii. 119.

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secret, were not fruitless; he became an artist before he produced a specimen of his talents, and at eighteen years of age seized the pencil and astonished his employers. The disciples of Raffaello owned no superiority but that of genius. Polidoro da Caravaggio was received among them as a companion and a brother, and by his future eminence added new honours to the school in which he had been formed.(a) After the completion of the *Loggie*, Raffaello was employed by the pontiff to embellish in a similar manner one of the saloons of the Vatican, where he painted several figures of the apostles and saints; and availing himself of the assistance of Giovanni da Udine, decorated the interstices with arabesques, in which he introduced the figures of various animals, which had at different times been presented to the pope,(b) who was so highly gratified by the

Polidoro da Caravaggio.

(a) *Vasari, Vita di Polidoro da Caravaggio; Vite de' Pittori, vol. ii. p.* 283.

(b) This work was destroyed by the ignorant and superstitious Paul IV. (Caraffa) who as Vasari tells us, "per "fare certi suoi stanzini e bugigattoli da ritirarsi, guastò "quella stanza, e privò quel palazzo d'un' opera singolare; "il che non arebbe fatto quel sant' uomo, s'egli avesse "avuto gusto nell' arti del disegno." *Vasari, tom. ii. p.* 47.

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the judgment and fancy displayed in these works, that he invested Raffaello with the general superintendence of all the improvements of the Vatican.

The Cartoons.

The demands made by Leo X. upon the talents and the time of Raffaello were indeed unremitting, and could not have failed to have exhausted the efforts of a less fertile imagination or a less rapid hand. Having determined to ornament one of the apartments of the Vatican with tapestry, which was at that time woven in Flanders with the utmost perfection and elegance; he requested Raffaello to furnish the designs from such portions of scripture history as might be suitable for the purpose. The passages which he chose, were selected from the Acts of the Apostles; and these he designed on cartoons, or paper, as models for the imitation of the Flemish artists. Each of these subjects was ornamented at the bottom with a frieze, or border, in *chiaro scuro*; representing the principal transactions in the life of Leo X. The pieces of tapestry wrought from these designs, and which, until very lately, decorated the papal chapel, were executed by the tapestry-weavers with a harmony of colour and brilliancy of effect that astonished all who saw them, and seemed to

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be rather the production of the pencil than the loom.(a) In this work Leo expended the enormous sum of seventy thousand crowns.(b) But although the tapestry arrived at Rome, the drawings, yet more valuable, were suffered to remain in the hands of the Flemish workmen, from whose descendants it is supposed they were purchased, in the ensuing century, by the accomplished but unfortunate Charles I.(c) During the disturbances which soon afterwards arose in these kingdoms, these precious monuments were exposed to sale, in common with the rest of the royal collection;

(a) *Vasari, Vita di Raffaello, in Vite de' Pittori*, ii. 124. Mr. Duppa informs us, that these tapestries were dispersed when the Vatican palace was sacked by the French in 1798. *Life of Raffaello, p.* 12. *2nd.* 1802.

(b) "Costò quest' opera settanta mila scudi, e si conserva ancora nella Capella papale." *Vasari, vol.* ii. *p.* 124, but Panvinius, in his life of Leo X. states the expense to have been 50,000 gold crowns. *Vite de' Pontefici*, ii. 495.

(c) *Richardson, Traité de la Peinture*, iii. 459. The same author adds, that Charles II. would have sold them to Louis XIV. who applied to him by his ambassador to purchase them, but that he was dissuaded from it by the earl of Danby, afterwards duke of Leeds. *Ibid.*

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collection; but Cromwell was not so devoid of taste as to permit them to be lost to this country, and directed that they should be purchased.(a) No further attention seems however to have been paid to them, and soon after the accession of William III. they were found in a chest cut into strips for the use of the tapestry weavers, but in other respects without material injury. For several years these celebrated cartoons formed the chief ornament of the palace of Hampton Court, whence they have been removed by the orders of his present Majesty to his residence at Windsor. Let not the British artist who is smitten with the love of his profession and owns the influence of genius fail to pay his frequent devotions at this shrine.(b)

(a) The number of cartoons was originally twelve. It is probable that Giulio Romano added that of the Magi, which was exhibited with the rest. Seven of these only are now preserved, although some mutilated fragments have been discovered, which are supposed to have been parts of those which are lost.

(b) Richardson has entered into a long disquisition to prove, that the cartoons then at Hampton Court, have preserved the most perfect specimen of the productions of Raffaello,

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We now touch the confines of the highest state of the art; of that period when the powers of Raffaello, who undoubtedly united in himself all the great requisites of a perfect painter in a higher degree than any other individual, were exerted to their full extent.

The Transfiguration.

To distinguish this æra was the destination of his last great work, the transfiguration of Christ on Mount Tabor. In the production of this piece Raffaello was attracted by friendship and stimulated by emulation. During the absence of Michelagnolo from Rome, that great artist had heard the praises of Raffaello resounded

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faello, by his own hand, that now exists in any one place; and that they are to be preferred to his works either in the Vatican or the Farnesina. *Traité de la Peinture*, iii. 439. *&c.* Bottari has noted this observation without attempting to reply to it. *Note al Vasari*, ii. 124. and Lanzi has confirmed it by asserting, that in these works the art had arrived at its highest pitch of excellence, and that the world has not since seen any production of equal beauty. "Anche "in questi arrazzi l'arte ha toccò il più alto segno, nè dopo "essi ha veduta il mondo cosa ugualmente bella." *Lanzi, Storia pittorica*, i. 401. The cartoons have been frequently engraved by various artists, and the friezes of the life of Leo X. by Pietro Santi Bartoli of Perugia. Mr. Holloway, an eminent English artist, is now employed (1805) in engraving the cartoons, on a large scale; and from the specimens which the public have already had of his abilities, there is reason to expect that they will be executed in a superior style.

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resounded from every quarter, and had found his productions commended for propriety of invention, correctness of design, grace of composition, and harmony of colouring; whilst his own were represented as having no other excellence than truth of drawing to recommend them.(a) Relinquishing for a moment that department which was more consonant to the severe energy of his own genius, and in which he stands without a rival in modern times, he resolved to oppose a barrier to the triumphs of his great competitor, and by availing himself of the experienced pencil and attractive colouring of Sebastiano del Piombo, to give to his own vigorous conceptions those advantages which were necessary to exhibit them with full effect. This union of genius with talent, gave rise to several celebrated productions, the designs of which were furnished by Michelagnolo and the exe-

 cution

(a) "Mentre che lavorava costui (Sebastiano del Piombo) queste cose in Roma, era venuto in tanto credito Raffaello nella pittura, che gli amici ed aderente suoi dicevano, che le pitture di lui erano, secondo l' ordine della pittura, più che quelle di Michelagnolo vaghe di colorito, belle d' invenzioni, e d'arie più vezzose e di corrispondente disegno; e che quelle del Bonarotte non avevano, dal disegno in fuori, niuna di queste parti." *Vasari, Vite vol.* ii. *p.* 470.

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cution intrusted to Sebastiano.*(a)* At this juncture the cardinal Giulio de' Medici had engaged Raffaello to paint for him in oil the picture of the transfiguration, which was intended to ornament the great altar of the cathedral of Narbonne, of which place the cardinal was archbishop. No sooner had he commenced the work, than Sebastiano begun, as if in competition with him, his celebrated picture of the raising of Lazarus, which was painted with the greatest attention, and in part from the designs of Michelagnolo and under his immediate superintendence and direction.*(b)* Such a contest was well calculated to call forth all the efforts of Raffaello, and the work which he produced is acknowledged to

(a) Among these a Transfiguration in fresco, a Flagellation of Christ, with other pieces, in one of the chapels of S. Piero in Montorio in Rome, are mentioned as having attracted particular approbation. *v. Vasari, ut sup. and Lanzi, Storia Pittorica,* i. 404.

(b) " Fu contrafatta e dipinta con diligenza grandissi-" ma sotto ordine e disegno in alcune parti di Michelagno-" lo." *Vasari,* ii. 471. This picture was sent by the cardinal de' Medici to his cathedral of Narbonne instead of the Transfiguration of Raffaello. It has since been transferred to this country, and now enriches the magnificent and select collection of Mr. Angerstein.

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to have displayed his various excellences to full advantage.(a) The pictures when completed were exhibited together to public view in the chamber of the consistory, and both received high commendation. The work of Sebastiano was universally approved of, as a wonderful instance of energetic design and powerful effect; but the warmest admirers of Michelagnolo have not hesitated to confess, that in beauty and in grace the picture of Raffaello had no equal.(b)

Among

(a) "Il quadro della Transfigurazione," says Mengs, "è una chiara riprova che Raffaelle avea acquistato maggior idea del vero bello; poichè contiene assai più bellezze che tutte le altre sue anteriori." *Op. di Mengs*, i. 134. On the death of Raffaello, which happened shortly after the completion of this picture, the cardinal de' Medici changed his intention of sending it to Narbonne, and placed it in the church of S. Pietro in Montorio at Rome, where it remained until it was lately brought to France, and placed in the collection of the Louvre.

(b) This picture was engraved by the scholars of Marc Antonio Raimondi, in 1538; and afterwards by several other artists. A large print from the cartoon of it has also lately been published at Rome by Francesco de' Santis, which exhibits, by a comparison with the former prints, the alterations made by the artist in the execution of his design.

The

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Hall of Constantine.

Among the last and unfinished labours of Raffaello, are the designs for another apartment in the Vatican, now called the Hall of Constantine, which were begun by him under the directions of Leo X. and terminated after the death both of the artist and the pontiff, by Giulio Romano and Gian-Francesco Penni, who are acknowledged to have proved themselves by this work the worthy disciples of so great a master. This series comprises four grand compositions, each occupying one side of the apartment. The first represents the vision of Constantine, with the miraculous appearance of the holy cross. The second and largest is the victory of Constantine over Maxentius. The third is the baptism of the emperor, and the fourth, the donation made by

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The manner in which Raffaello has treated this subject, in representing the transfiguration of Christ on the mountain, and the presentation for cure of the boy possessed by an evil spirit below, has given occasion to some critics to charge him with having represented two separate actions, and two distinct periods of time, in the same picture. This objection has been answered by several writers, and particularly at great length, by Mr. Rutgers, in his letter on this subject to Mess. Richardsons, printed in the *addenda* to their treatise *Sur la Peinture;* and more concisely, but more decisively, by Mr. Fuseli, at the end of his third lecture at the Royal Academy.

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by him to the church. On the basement of this apartment are represented the figures of several of the Roman pontiffs who distinguished themselves by their superior piety; each of whom appears to be seated in a niche, and to be attended by two angels who support his mantle or assist in holding the book which he is employed in reading.(a) Among them are the sainted pontiffs, Pietro, Damaso, Leo, Gregory, and Silvester. On the base of a column, at the foot of the picture which represents the baptism of Constantine, is inscribed, CLEMENS VII. PONT. MAX. A LEONE X. COEPTUM CONSUMAVIT.

Raffaello employed to delineate the remains of ancient Rome.

As an architect, Raffaello is scarcely less entitled to commendation, than in the other departments of art. On the death of Bramante, in the year 1514, a competition took place for the office of superintendent of the church of S. Pietro, between the professors of architecture at Rome; among whom were Fra Giocondo, Raffaello, and Balthazar Peruzzi, the latter of whom, at the request of Leo X. formed a new model for the building, excluding such parts as appeared to him not to

(a) *Bellori Descrittione, &c. p.* 150.

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to correspond with the rest, and comprehending the whole in one magnificent and simple form. But although the design of Peruzzi gave great satisfaction to the pontiff, and some parts of it were even adopted by succeeding architects in carrying forwards this great work, yet Leo in compliance with the dying request of Bramante, conferred the office of architect on Raffaello, giving him as a coadjutor, or assistant, the experienced Fra Giocondo, then at an advanced period of life.*(a)* The appointment of Raffaello, which is dated in the month of August, 1514, contains high commendations of his talents, and assigns to him a salary of three hundred gold crowns, with full power to call for the supplies necessary for carrying forward the work.*(b)* For the same purpose he was also authorized to make use of such marble as might

(a) Fra Giocondo was not only an eminent architect, but an accomplished scholar, and instructed the learned Julius Cæsar Scaliger in the Greek and Latin languages. On his erecting for Louis XII. the famous bridge over the Seine, Sannazaro produced the well-known couplet:

"Jocundus geminum imposuit tibi Sequana pontem,
"Hunc tu jure potes dicere *Pontificem.*"

(b) Appendix, No. CCIX.

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might be found in the city of Rome, or within the distance of ten miles from its walls; and a penalty was imposed upon all persons, who, upon discovering the remains of any ancient edifice, should not, within three days, give notice of the same to Raffaello, who, as præfect of St. Peter's, was empowered to purchase and make use of such part of it as might suit his purpose. These regulations became the means of preserving from destruction many remains of ancient art, which would otherwise undoubtedly have perished. In the brief, addressed by the pontiff to Raffaello on this occasion, it is observed, that "great "quantities of stone and marble are frequent- "ly discovered with inscriptions or curious "monumental devices, which are deserving "of preservation for the promotion of lite- "rature, and the cultivation of the Latin "tongue; but are frequently cut or broken, "and the inscriptions obliterated, for the "sake of using them as materials in new "buildings." The pontiff therefore imposes a heavy fine upon any person who shall destroy any inscription, without the permission of Raffaello.(a) These precautions could not fail

(a) Appendix, No. CCX.

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fail of answering, in a great degree, the commendable ends which the pontiff had in view; and to him may be ascribed the preservation of such memorials of former ages, as had escaped the ravages of his predecessors; many of whom had not only permitted these venerable relics to be defaced, at the pleasure of those who found them, but had themselves torn down some of the finest works of antiquity, and employed the splendid fragments in the churches and modern edifices of Rome.

Report of Raffaello to the pope.

The progress of this great work, during which the pontiff had frequent interviews with his architects, suggested to him a yet more extensive and magnificent plan. This was the forming an accurate survey of the city of Rome, with representations of all the remains of ancient buildings, so as to obtain, from what might yet be seen, a complete draught or model of the whole, as it existed in the most splendid æra of its prosperity. This task he also intrusted to Raffaello, who undertook it with great alacrity, and appears to have made some progress towards its completion; but the untimely death of that great artist, which happened soon after the commencement of the undertaking, frustrated the views of the pontiff.

pontiff. A singular memorial of the measures adopted by Raffaello for carrying this purpose into effect, yet however remains, in a letter addressed by him to the pope, and which, until within the space of a few years past, has been erroneously attributed to the count Baldassare Castiglione.*(a)* In this letter, which displays

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(a) In the year 1799, the Abate Daniele Francesconi, published a discourse on this subject, addressed to the Florentine academy, and modestly entitled *Congettura che una lettera creduta di Baldassar Castiglione sia di Raffaelle d' Urbino*, for a copy of which extract I am indebted to the obliging attention of the learned Abate Jacopo Morelli, librarian of S. Marco at Venice. In this discourse, and the judicious notes by which it is accompanied, the author has demonstrated, in the most satisfactory manner, that the letter in question is, in fact, the answer or report of Raffaello to the commission delegated to him by the pontiff. Among the reasons given by the Abate Francesconi for this opinion are the following:

I. It appears from the internal evidence of the letter, that the pope had employed the writer of it to furnish him with the plans and drawings in question, and it is not likely that he would have committed the task to two different persons. *Discorso, p.* 35.

II. That Raffaello, at the time of his death, was employed in making drawings of the remains of ancient Rome, is

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displays in every sentence the knowledge of a practical artist, the author has fully explained the

is well known, from the information of Jovius, of Calcagnini, of Andrea Fulvio, and of the author of the anonymous life of Raffaello, published by Comolli, attributed to Giovanni della Casa; all of whom are cited by Francesconi. *Discorso*, 21. 22.

III. It is scarcely probable, that a nobleman, and ambassador at the Roman court, like Castiglione, would devote himself to the laborious task of investigating, and accurately measuring the ancient edifices of Rome; although this might be a proper employment for an artist by profession, like Raffaello. *Discorso*, 33.

IV. The striking circumstance mentioned in the letter, that the writer had been nearly eleven years stationary in Rome, corresponds with the life of Raffaello, who arrived at that city, in the year 1508, and probably wrote the letter in question in 1519; but disagrees with that of Castiglione, who only visited it as a public envoy, and was frequently absent. *Discorso*, 51, *&c.*

V. The instrument described by the author of the letter, as having been employed by him, is described by Jovius as the discovery of Raffaello, *novo quodam ac mirabili invento*. *Discorso*, 24.

VI. The elegant and well-known lines of Castiglione on the death of Raffaello, contain a constant allusion to the efforts of the artist, in restoring the city of Rome to its ancient

the nature of his undertaking, the rules which he had prescribed to himself for carrying it into

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cient splendour; without the least allusion to any such attempt by Castiglione himself. These lines are alone sufficiently decisive of the question;

De Morte Raphaelis Pictoris.

Quod lacerum corpus medica sanaverit arte,
Hippolytum stygiis et revocarit aquis,
Ad Stygias ipse est raptus Epidaurius undas;
Sic pretium vitæ mors fuit Artifici.
Tu quoque dum toto laniatam corpore Romam
Componis, miro, Raphael, ingenio,
Atque urbis lacerum ferro, igni, annisque cadaver
Ad vitam, antiquum jam revocasque decus,
Movisti superum invidiam, indignataque Mors est,
Te dudum extinctis reddere posse animam;
Et quod longa dies paullatim aboleverat, hoc te
Mortali spreta lege, parare iterum.
Sic miser, heu! prima cadis intercepte juventa,
Deberi et morti nostraque nosque mones.

If the foregoing reasons were insufficient, much additional evidence might be adduced in confirmation of them. I shall, however, only refer to the two following authorities. I. In the close of his third part, Vasari expressly mentions his obligations to the writings of Lorenzo Ghiberti, Domenico Grillandai, and Raffaello d' Urbino; which in all probability can only relate to this letter, and *v. Richardson, vol.* iii. *p.* 708. II. The assiduity of Raffaello in prosecuting his laborious undertaking, is referred to in the following lines of Celio Calcagnini:

Raphaelis

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into effect, and even the implements made use of for that purpose. "There are many persons," says he "Holy Father, who, estimating great things by their own narrow judgment, esteem the military exploits of the ancient Romans, and the skill which they have displayed in their buildings, so spacious, and so richly ornamented, as rather fabulous than true. With me, however, it is widely different; for when I perceive, in what yet remains of Rome, the divinity of mind which the ancients possessed, it seems to me not unreasonable to conclude, that many things were to them easy which to us appear impossible. Having therefore under this conviction, always been studious of the remains of antiquity, and having with no small labour investigated and accurately measured such as have occurred to me, and compared them with the writings of the best authors on this subject, I conceive that I have obtained some acquaintance with the architecture

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RAPHÆLIS URBINATIS INDUSTRIA.

"Tot proceres Romam tam longa exstruxerat ætas,
"Totque hostes, et tot sæcula diruerant;
"Nunc Romam in Roma quærit, reperitque Raphael.
"Quærere magni hominis, sed reperire Dei est."

Carm. illust. Poet. Ital. iii. 76.

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" architecture of the ancients. This acquisition, whilst it gives me great pleasure, has also affected me with no small concern, in observing the inanimate remains, as it were, of this once noble city, the queen of the universe, thus lacerated and dispersed. As there is a duty from every child towards his parents and his country, so I find myself called upon to exert what little ability I possess, in perpetuating somewhat of the image, or rather the shadow, of that which is in fact the universal country of all Christians, and at one time was so elevated and so powerful, that mankind began to believe that she was raised beyond the efforts of fortune and destined to perpetual duration. Hence it would seem that time, envious of the glory of mortals, but not fully confiding in his own strength, had combined with fortune, and with the profane and unsparing barbarians, that to his corroding file and consuming tooth they might add their destructive fury; and by fire, by sword, and every other mode of devastation, might complete the ruin of Rome. Thus those famous works which might otherwise have remained to the present day in full splendour and beauty, were, by the rage and ferocity of these merciless men, or rather wild beasts,

" overthrown

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" overthrown and destroyed; yet not so entirely as not to leave a sort of mechanism of the whole, without ornament indeed; or so to express it, the skeleton of the body without the flesh. But why should we complain of the Goths, the Vandals, or other perfidious enemies, whilst they who ought, like fathers and guardians, to have protected the defenceless remains of Rome, have themselves contributed towards their destruction. How many have there been, who having enjoyed the same office as your holiness, but not the same knowledge, nor the same greatness of mind, nor that clemency in which you resemble the Deity, how many have there been who have employed themselves in the demolition of ancient temples, statues, arches, and other glorious works! How many who have allowed these edifices to be undermined, for the sole purpose of obtaining the *pozzolana* from their foundations; in consequence of which they have fallen in ruins! What materials for building have been formed from statues and other antique sculptures! Insomuch, that I might venture to assert, that the new Rome which we now see, as large as it may appear, so beautiful and so ornamented with palaces, churches, and other buildings, is wholly composed

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"composed of the remains of ancient marble. "Nor can I reflect without sorrow, that even "since I have been in Rome, which is not "yet eleven years, so many beautiful monu- "ments have been destroyed; as the obelisk "that stood in the Alexandrian road, the un- "fortunate arch, and so many columns and "temples, chiefly demolished by M. Barto- "lommeo della Rovere. It ought not, there- "fore, holy father, to be the last object of "your attention, to take care that the little "which now remains of this the ancient mo- "ther of Italian glory and magnificence, be "not, by means of the ignorant and the ma- "licious, wholly extirpated and destroyed; "but may be preserved as a testimony of the "worth and excellence of those divine minds, "by whose example we of the present day "are incited to great and laudable undertak- "ings. Your object, however, is rather to "leave the examples of the ancients to speak "for themselves, and to equal or surpass "them by the erection of splendid edifices, "by the encouragement and remuneration of "talents and of genius, and by dispensing "among the princes of Christendom, the "blessed seeds of peace. For as the ruin of "all discipline and of all arts is the conse- "quence of the calamities of war, so from

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" peace and public tranquillity, is derived that " desirable leisure, which carries them to the " highest pitch of excellence." After this introduction, the author proceeds: " Having " then been commanded by your holiness to " make a design of ancient Rome, as far as " it can be discovered from what now remains, " with all the edifices of which such ruins " yet appear, as may enable us infallibly to " ascertain what they originally were, and to " supply such parts as are wholly destroyed " by making them correspond with those that " yet exist, I have used every possible exer- " tion, that I might give you full satisfaction, " and convey a perfect idea of the subject." He then enters upon a technical description of the principal edifices then existing in Rome, which he divides into three classes, those of the ancients, of the middle ages, and of the moderns, giving to each their peculiar characteristics. He describes a mathematical instrument which he has employed for completing his task with accuracy, and which appears, from the use of the mariner's compass, to be the same as that which is now called the *Plane-table;* and after having thus given a full explanation of his proceedings, he transmits to the pope the drawing of

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an entire edifice, completed according to the rules which he had laid down.*(a)*

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With the death of his favourite artist, it is probable that Leo relinquished this undertaking. This event happened on Good Friday, in the year 1520, Raffaello having on that day completed the thirty-seventh year of his age.*(b)* The regret which every admirer of the arts must feel for his early loss, is increased by the reflection, that this misfortune was not the result of any inevitable disease, but is to be attributed to the joint consequences of his own imprudence, and of the temerity or ignorance of his physician.*(c)* With

Death of Raffaello.

(a) The reader may consult the original letter in the Appendix, No. CCXI.

(b) "Periit in ipso ætatis flore, cum antiquæ urbis ædificiorum vestigia architecturæ studio metiretur, novo quidem ac admirabili invento, ut integram urbem architectorum oculis consideratam proponeret." *Jovii, vita Raphael.*

(c) "Raffaello attendendo in tanto a suoi amori, così di nascosto, continuò fuor di modo i piaceri amorosi, onde avvenne ch' una volta fra l'altre, disordinò più del solito, perchè tornato a casa con una grandissima febbre, fu creduto da' Medici che fosse riscaldato. Onde non confessando

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every accomplishment, both natural and acquired, with qualities that not only commanded the approbation, but conciliated the affection of all who knew him, it was his misfortune not sufficiently to respect the divine talents with which he was endowed. His friend the cardinal da Bibbiena, had endeavoured to prevail on him to marry, and had proposed to give him his niece as a wife;(a) but the idea of restraint was intolerable to him; and whilst he

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" confessendo egli il disordine che aveva fatto, per poco " prudenza loro gli cavarono sangue, di maniera che inde- " bolito si sentiva mancare ladove egli aveva bisogno di " ristoro." *Vasari Vite*, ii. 132.

(a) Richardson relates that he had seen a letter of Raffaello containing many curious particulars of his life, some of which he has given, and which seem to be authentic. *Traité de la Peinture*, iii. 463. Raffaello made a formal disposition of his property, whereby, after providing for the support of his favourite mistress, and the salvation of his soul, which latter object he secured by directing that a chapel should be built, and endowed with a certain number of masses, he left the residue of his effects to his disciples Giulio Romano and Gian Francesco Penni, and appointed Baldassar Turini, then datary to the Pope, and usually called Baldassare da Pescia, to whose unpublished correspondence we have had such frequent occasion to refer in the course of this work, the only executor of his will. *Vasari*, ii. 132.

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he appeared disposed to comply with the wishes of the cardinal, he still found means, under various pretexts, to postpone the union. Among the reasons assigned for this delay, it has been alleged, that on the finishing the pictures in the Vatican, the pope intended to confer on him, in reward of his labours, the rank and emoluments of a cardinal. It must, however, be confessed, that such a promotion, if indeed it ever was in contemplation, would have conferred little honour either on the artist or his patron. In the estimation of his own times, as well as of the present, he already held a higher rank than Leo could bestow; and the hat of a cardinal could only have disgraced the man whose chief pretensions to it were founded on his pallet and his pencils.*(a)*

Other artists employed by Leo. X.

It would be no less unjust to the character and liberality of Leo X. than to the disinterestedness of Raffaello, and indeed to the merits of the age, to suppose that the patronage of the pontiff was confined to the encouragement

(a) Vasari asserts, that the pope wept bitterly on the death of Raffaello. "La sua morte amaramente lo fece "piangere," *Vas.* ii. 33. The great picture of the Transfiguration, which Raffaello had only just finished, was displayed

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ragement of a single artist, to the exclusion of all contemporary excellence. In truth, no person was ever more free from that envy which is the invariable mark of inferior talents, than Raffaello himself. Among those whom he recommended to the favour of Leo X. was Luca della Robbia, who had carried to high perfection an art which had long been practised by his ancestors; that of painting on *Terra invetriata*, or glazed earth; an art which has since been lost, or at least is now confined to the narrow limits of enamel painting. In this method he executed the *Impresa*, or arms of Leo X. which yet adorn the apartments of the Vatican, and completed

Luca della Robbia.

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played at the head of the apartment where his remains were placed prior to interment. His epitaph was written by Bembo.

D. O. M.
RAPHAELI SANCTIO JOAN. F. URBINAT.
PICTORI EMINENTISS. VETERUMQUE ÆMULO
CUJUS SPIRANTEIS PROPE IMAGINEIS
SI CONTEMPLERE
NATURÆ ATQUE ARTIS FŒDUS
FACILE INSPEXERIS
JULII II. ET LEONIS X. PONT. MAX.
PICTURÆ ET ARCHITECT. OPERIBUS
GLORIAM AUXIT
VIXIT A. XXXVII. INTEGER INTEGROS
QUO DIE NATUS EST EO ESSE DESIIT
VII. ID. APRIL MDXX.

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completed the floors of the papal *Loggie.(a)* In the decoration of the Vatican, Leo was desirous of obtaining the assistance, not only of the most eminent painters, but of the most skilful artificers in every kind of ornament; to the end that this place might concentrate and exhibit in one point of view, all that was exquisite in art.*(b)* His exertions for this purpose were eminently successful; and in the ensuing century the celebrated French painter, Niccolò Poussin, was employed by Louis XIII. in making drawings of the decorations of the Vatican, to be employed in the palace of the Louvre, which he was then erecting;*(c)* a circumstance which confers honour on the taste of that sovereign, and marks the commencement of that improvement, which under the patronage of his successor, arrived at its highest pitch of excellence.

Andrea Contucci.

The reputation acquired by Andrea Contucci, called Andrea dal Monte Sansovino, by his celebrated group in the chapel of Gorizio, to

(a) *Vasari, Vite de' Pittori*, i. 202, 203.

(b) *Ibid.* ii. 123.

(c) *Bottari, Note al Vasari.* ii. 120.

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to which we have before had occasion to refer, induced the pope to require his assistance in completing the ornaments for the chapel of our Lady of Loretto, which had been commenced by Bramante, but left imperfect at his death. This work consisted of a series of pieces in sacred history, executed in *basso rilievo* in marble. The talents displayed by Andrea in this undertaking, fully justified the choice of the pontiff, and even Vasari, although devoted to the admiration of Michelagnolo, acknowledges that these productions were the finest and most finished specimens of sculpture, which had until that time been seen.*(a)* The enterprise was, however, too extensive for the accomplishment of an individual; and some of the *rilievos* being left by Andrea in an unfinished state, were completed by succeeding artists. Thus Baccio Bandinelli finished the representation of the birth of the Virgin; Raffaello da Monte Lupo that of her marriage; and Girolamo Lombardo the nativity of Christ, and adoration of the Magi.

(a) "Ma quanto in questa parte appartiene ad Andrea, "questi suoi lavori sono i più belli, e meglio condotti di "scultura, che mai fossero stati fatti fino a quel tempo." *Vasari*, ii, 170.

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Magi. The miracle of the migration from Sclavonia to Loretto of this famous chapel, which is pretended to have been the birth-place and residence of the Holy Virgin, supplied another subject for the inventive talents of Andrea, and his design was afterwards executed by the Florentine sculptor Tribolo.(a)

Among other great works completed by Leo X. during his brief pontificate, may be enumerated the rebuilding and adorning with paintings the church of our Lady at Montecello, the superintendence of which place had been intrusted to him whilst a cardinal. He also restored and beautified the baptismal font of Constantine in the Lateran, which had nearly become ruinous. He vigilantly repaired the roads and bridges within the Roman territories; erected or enlarged many magnificent palaces in different parts of his dominions; conducted to his favourite villa of Malliana a plentiful supply of water, and ornamented the place by a beautiful building. Beyond the limits of the Roman state, he attended to the completion and decoration of the palace of Poggio Cajano, situate between Pistoja

(a) *Vasari*, ii. 174.

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Pistoja and Florence, which had been erected by his father Lorenzo. The direction of this undertaking was intrusted by the pontiff to his relation Ottaviano de' Medici, who possessed the same taste for the arts which distinguished the rest of his family, and lived on terms of friendly intimacy with the most eminent painters of the time. It was the intention of the pontiff to ornament the walls and ceiling of the great hall with paintings in fresco, the execution of which had been committed to Francia Bigio; but Ottaviano de' Medici called in further assistance, and allotting only one third of the work to Bigio, apportioned the rest between Andrea del Sarto, and Jacopo da Puntormo, in hopes that by the emulation thus excited, the work would be better and more expeditiously performed. One of the pictures undertaken by Bigio, was the representation of Cicero carried in triumph by his fellow citizens.(a) Andrea del Sarto commenced a picture of the tribute of various animals presented to Cæsar,(b) and Jacopo da Puntormo, one of Vertumnus and Pomona, characterized by their

Francia Bigio, Andrea del Sarto, Jacopo da Puntormo.

(a) *Vasari, vite de' Pittori*, ii. 217, 231.

(b) *Ibid.* ii. 655.

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their insignia, and their attendants. Other pieces were also commenced; but the great deliberation with which the artists proceeded, in the hopes of surpassing their competitors, and perhaps some degree of dissatisfaction arising from the partition of their labour, delayed the completion of their undertaking, until its further progress was effectually prevented by the death of Leo X. An event which, as Vasari has observed, not only frustrated many great works at Rome, at Florence, at Loretto, and other places, but impoverished the world by the loss of this true Mecænas of all distinguished men.*(a)*

Lionardo da Vinci.

Among other artists, whom the elevation of Leo X. to the pontificate induced to visit the city of Rome, Vasari has enumerated the accomplished Lionardo da Vinci, who is said to have accompanied Giuliano de' Medici from Florence on that occasion.*(b)* The same author

(a) "Ma mentre che si lavorava quest' opera venendo "a morte Leone, così rimase questa imperfetta, come molt' "altri simili a Roma, a Fiorenza, a Loreto, e in altri "luoghi, anzi povero il mondo e senza il vero Mecenate "degli uomini virtuosi." *Vasari*, ii. 655.

(b) "Andò a Roma col Duca Giuliano de' Medici nel- "la creazione di papa Leone." *Vasari*, ii. 12.

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thor informs us, that on his arrival, the pope gave him a subject on which he might employ his pencil. Lionardo, who devoted much of his time to the improvement of the mechanical processes of his art, began to prepare oils and varnishes; whereupon the pope exclaimed, "What, alas! can be expected from a "man who attends to the finishing before he "has begun his work!" We are also told, that on this occasion, Lionardo executed for Baldassare Turini da Pescia, a picture of the Madonna and infant Christ, and an exquisite portrait of a boy; both of which were in the time of Vasari, in the possession of M. Giulio Turini at Pescia. There is, however, some reason to doubt the authenticity of this relation, and to suspect that Lionardo did not pay a visit to Rome during the pontificate of Leo X. If the works attributed to him in that city by Bottari,*(a)* are, in fact, the productions of his pencil, they were probably executed at a much earlier period of his life.*(b)* To what a degree

(a) Bottari, Not. al Vasari, vol. ii. *p.* 22.

(b) "Perchè ha egli, il Vasari, scritto così bene di Lio-"nardo, se non perchè l'haveva conosciuto e praticato," &c. *M. Mariette, Lettere Pittoriche, No.* 84. But how could

a degree of proficiency Lionardo might have attained, had he devoted to the prosecution of his

could Vasari, who was born in 1512, derive any advantages from his acquaintance with Lionardo, who died in 1518? Accordingly we find that Vasari's account of this great artist, instead of being well written, as M. Mariette asserts, is extremely meagre and imperfect; its author having been obliged to supply the want of authentic matter with equivocal narratives and trifling anecdotes. In the account of the visit of Lionardo to Rome, Vasari has, however, been implicitly followed by most of those writers who have had occasion to touch upon this subject; particularly by Du Fresne, in his life of Lionardo, annexed to the treatise, *Della Pittura*, *Paris*, 1701, *and Napol.* 1733; by M. Mariette in the *Lettere Pittoriche*, *No.* 84, and even by Monsig. Fabroni, in his life of Leo X. p. 219. I cannot, however, divest myself of great doubts on this subject. Giuliano de' Medici quitted Florence and repaired to his brother at Rome, about the month of September, 1513; but I find no evidence in any contemporary writer that he was accompanied by Lionardo, who was then seventy years of age. In the splendid exhibitions at Rome on Giuliano being received into the rank of a citizen, and in which it might be supposed that Lionardo, as an artist, would have taken an important part, we find no mention made of him, nor is he noticed in the poem of Aurelio Sereno of Monopoli, on that subject; although many of the eminent persons then in Rome, who attended on that festival, are particularly enumerated. *v. ante*, *chap.* x. *vol.* ii. *p.* 310. In the MS. letters written from Rome to Florence by Baldassare da Pescia, for whom Lionardo is said to have painted the two

pictures

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his art that time which he misapplied in alchemical experiments, or lost in puerile amusements, may readily be conjectured from the astonishing specimens which he occasionally produced; but whilst Raffaello and Michelagnolo were adorning Italy with their immortal labours, Lionardo was blowing bubbles to fill a whole apartment, and decorating lizards with artificial wings. Even these occupations may, however, be taken as indications of the same character, which he frequently manifested in his works; impatient of the limits of nature, and aiming at the expression of something beyond what had ever occurred to his observation; a propensity which marks a great and daring mind, but which if not regulated and chastened by the laws of probability and of truth, is in danger of

pictures before mentioned, and which letters extend through great part of the year 1514, no notices appear of Lionardo; which, considering his great eminence, and his intimacy with the writer, would probably have been the case had he then been at Rome. To these doubts I shall only add, that Borghini, a well informed writer of the sixteenth century, attributes the two pictures painted for Bald. da Pescia to the time when Lionardo was in Florence, and wholly omits the story of his journey to Rome in the time of Leo X. *Borghini, il Reposo, p.* 371. *Ed. Fior.* 1584.

of leading, as in fact it too often led Lionardo, to the expression of caricature, deformity, and grimace.

Origin of the art of engraving on copper.

It has been considered as a great advantage to the reputation of Michelagnolo, and as a misfortune to that of Raffaello, that whilst the former was yet living, the transactions of his history were recorded by two of his scholars, whilst no one was found among the numerous admirers of the latter, who would undertake to perform for him the same office;(a) but this disadvantage was amply compensated by another circumstance, which has perhaps rendered more service to the character of Raffaello, than could have been done by the most eloquent encomiums, or the most flattering pen. This observation can only apply to the promulgation of his beautiful designs, by means of engravings from plates of copper, an art then recently invented, and rapidly rising to perfection. From the practice of chasing and inlaying

(a) "Gran vantaggio alla fama di Michelangiolo fu "aver due scolari che lui vivente e morto già Raffaello ne "scrivesser la vita; e grande infortunio fu per Raffaello "non avere altrettanta fortuna." *Lanzi, Storia pittorica*, i. 394.

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inlaying metals, wood, or ivory, called by the Italians *Lavori di Niello*, and which had been cultivated by the Florentines with great success, the modern method of engraving derives its origin. In designing the subjects to be inlaid on armour, on household plate, and other implements, the painter was not unfrequently called in to the aid of the mechanic; and as these labours began to be performed with greater care and attention, it became usual to take impressions from the engraved metal, in order to judge of the effect of the work, before the cavities were filled with the substance intended. This substance was in general a composition of silver and lead, which being black, was denominated *niello. (nigellum)* Of these impressions, which are hence called prints *in niello*, the industry of modern inquirers has discovered several specimens, which are distinguished from other early prints, not only by the inscriptions being reversed in the impression, but by their rudeness in other respects. From this practice to that of engraving on metal for the express purpose of multiplying the design, the transition was not difficult. Among the first persons who distinguished themselves in this new career, were Antonio Pollajuolo and Sandro Botticelli, the latter of whom furnished the designs

Stampe di *Niello.*

Baccio Baldini.

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designs for the edition of Dante, published in 1488, which were engraved by Baccio Baldini.(a) Many other early artists are enumerated by writers on this subject, but their pretensions are in general extremely doubtful, and we may with great justice attribute to Andrea Mantegna, the merit of being the first person who by his performances gave stability and importance to the art. The prints of Andrea yet frequently occur to the collector, and display great invention and expression of

Andrea Mantegna.

 character.

(a) This is generally supposed to be the first book which was ornamented with engravings on copper, but Mr. Heineken has cited others of anterior date. *Idée Generale, &c.* 143. *Dict. des Artistes.* iii. 208. It appears to have been the intention of the printer to have placed a vignette at the head of each canto, but only two are inserted, viz. at the commencement of the first and second canto of the Inferno, and if three be found, the third is only a repetition of the second. It is now incontestably proved, that the supposed rare editions of this book, which are said to contain a greater number of these engravings, and which are alluded to by the learned Morelli in his *Libreria Pinelliana, vol.* iv. p. 280, have no existence; and that if any work has such an appearance, the prints are either pasted on the leaf or copied by a pen. Of the last description is that of the Pinelli library, described by Morelli. The copy which I possess agrees with that description in every respect, and appears to be the same book.

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character.*(a)* They sometimes even border on grace and elegance.*(b)* His drawing is in general correct, and in some instances exhibits great freedom. All his prints are peculiarly distinguished by the shadows being formed by diagonal lines, which are always found in the same direction, and not crossed by other lines, as has since been practised. He has not affixed the date to these productions, but they are certainly to be placed among the earliest efforts of the art, and may for the most part be assigned with confidence to the latter part of the fifteenth century.*(c)*

Marc-Antonio Raimondi.

The person, however, who was destined to carry this art to a much higher degree of perfection, was Marc-Antonio Raimondi of Bologna, frequently called, from having when young studied under the painter Francesco Francia,

(a) Of this his two prints of the battle of sea monsters, and the triumph of Silenus, afford sufficient proof.

(b) As in his print of four nymphs dancing.

(c) Mantegna died in 1505. Vasari, who places this event in 1517, has confounded it with the date of the monument erected to Mantegna, in the church of S. Andrea at Mantua. *Pilkington's Dict. of Painters, edited by Fuseli, p. 313.*

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Francia, Marc-Antonio di Francia. A modern writer conjectures that he was born in the year 1487, or 1488,(a) but one of his pieces bears the date of 1502,(b) and some of his others appear to be anterior to it, whence we may perhaps place that event some years earlier. His first attempts were in *Niello*, in which he obtained great applause,(c) but having taken a journey to Venice, he there found exposed to sale several of the prints of Albert Durer, both from copper and wood. The purchase of these works exhausted his slender finances, and in order to repair them, he began to copy the series of prints of the life of Christ, by Albert Durer, consisting of thirty-six pieces engraved in wood, which he imitated with such exactness on copper, as effectually to deceive those who saw them, and enable him to sell them as the prints of the German artist. Vasari informs us, that when Albert was acquainted with this circumstance, by a friend who transmitted to him one of the copies by Marc-Antonio, he immediately repaired

(a) *Heinek. Dict. des Artistes*, i. 275.

(b) His print of Pyramus and Thisbe.

(c) *Vasari, Vite de' Pittori*, ii. 412.

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paired to Venice to complain of the fraud to the senate; but that the only satisfaction which he could obtain, was a decree prohibiting Marc-Antonio from affixing the name or the emblem of Albert to his own engravings in future.(a) An attentive examination of the works of these artists, affords, however, no little reason to doubt of the truth of this narrative, which Vasari has probably adopted without sufficient authority.

From Venice Marc-Antonio repaired to Rome, where soon after his arrival, he attracted the notice of Raffaello, by engraving from one of his designs a figure of Lucretia.(b) This print being shewn to that great artist, he immediately saw the important uses to which the talents of the engraver might be applied, and from that time the abilities of Marc-Antonio were chiefly devoted to the representation of the designs of Raffaello. The first piece assigned to him by Raffaello was the judgment of Paris, which he executed

(a) *Vasari, Vite di Pittori*, ii. 413.

(b) Marc-Antonio engraved this subject twice after Raffaello, but the larger print was the first engraved. They are both without mark or date.

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cuted with great ability,(a) and this was succeeded by several other works which were the admiration of all Italy, and have preserved to the present day many exquisite designs of that great artist, which would otherwise have been lost to the world. It has been said that Raffaello not only directed Marc-Antonio in the execution of his labours, but that he frequently engraved the outlines of his figures, so as to render them as correct as possible;(b) and although this may be allowed to rest on conjecture only, yet it is certain that the labours of Marc-Antonio were highly approved by Raffaello, who as a proof of his proficiency, transmitted impressions of his prints to Albert Durer, and received in return a present from the German artist of many of his works. The reputation of Marc-Antonio was now established. The utility of his art was universally acknowledged. His school was thronged with disciples, many of whom became great proficients. Marco da Ravenna, Agostino Venetiano, and Giulio Bonasone, were scarcely inferior to their master, and by their

(a) *Vasari, Vite di Pittori*, ii. 416.

(b) On this subject, see *Heinek. Dict. des Artistes*, i. 280.

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their labours and those of their successors, a correct and genuine taste for picturesque representation has been diffused throughout Europe.

Invention of etching.

The art of engraving in copper by the *burin*, was accompanied, or speedily succeeded, by another invention of no less importance; that of engraving by means of *aqua-fortis*, or as it is now called, etching. The great labour and long experience which the management of the tool required, had divided the province of the engraver from that of the painter, and it might frequently have happened, that through the incorrect or imperfect medium of the former, the latter could scarcely recognise his own works. The art of etching, as it required but little mechanical skill, enabled the painter to transfer to the copper his own precise ideas; and to this we have been indebted for some of the most exquisite productions of genius and of taste. In fact these prints may justly be esteemed as original drawings of the masters who have produced them; and although the works of the modern engraver may frequently be entitled to great admiration, yet they will never, in the estimation of an experienced judge, be allowed to rival those free and unfinished, but

but correct and expressive sketches, which the immediate hand of a great painter has produced.

The origin of this invention has been attributed by the Italians to Parmegiano; but it was certainly known in Germany, if not before Parmegiano was born, at least before he was able to practise it. If, however, Parmegiano was not the inventor, the beautiful works which he has left in this department, and which exhibit all the elegance, grace, and spirit, of his paintings, which they will in all probability long survive, give him a decided superiority over all that preceded him; nor whilst we possess these precious remains, can we suppress our regret, that the same mode of execution was not occasionally resorted to by the other great artists of the time, and that we are not allowed to contemplate the bold contours of Michelagnolo, or the graceful compositions of Raffaello, as expressed and authenticated by their own hand.

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1521.

TRANQUILLITY of Italy—Leo seizes upon several of the smaller states—Attempts the duchy of Ferrara—Meditates the expulsion of the French and Spaniards from Italy—Engages a body of Swiss mercenaries—Treaty with the Emperor for restoring the family of Sforza to Milan—The French general L'Ecus made a prisoner by Guicciardini and liberated—Hostilities commenced against the French—Francis prepares to defend his Italian possessions—The allies attack Parma—The duke of Ferrara joins the French—The cardinal Giulio de' Medici legate to the allied army—The Swiss in the service of France desert to the enemy—The allies pass the Adda—Capture of Milan—The allies attack the duke of Ferrara—Sudden indisposition of Leo X.—His death—Reasons for believing that he was poisoned—His funeral and monument.

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Tranquillity of Italy.

ITALY had now for some years enjoyed a state of repose; nor did there appear to exist among the sovereigns of Europe any immediate cause which might lead them to disturb her tranquillity. Charles V. had hitherto been too much engaged in confirming his authority and regulating his administration in Germany, in Spain, and in Flanders, to pay any particular attention to his Neapolitan possessions; and Francis I. appeared to be rather solicitous to secure his dominions in the Milanese, than ambitious of further conquests. The Venetians, who by the aid of the French monarch had recovered the important cities of

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of Brescia and Verona, still maintained with him a close alliance; and the secondary states of Italy were too well aware of the dangers which they might incur in the general commotion, to give occasion to new disturbances. Even the duke of Ferrara, although by no means reconciled to the loss of Modena and Reggio, which were still retained by Leo X. thought it prudent to suppress his resentment, lest it should afford the pope a pretext, of which he would gladly have availed himself, to do him a more essential injury.

Nor were the great prosperity of the Roman see and the personal character of the pontiff, considered as slight assurances of the continuance of peace. The dissensions which, under the pontificates of Alexander VI. and Julius II. had torn the states of the church, were at length appeased, and Leo found the obedience of his subjects unlimited and his authority uncontrolled. To the possessions of the Roman see, he had united the cities and territories of Urbino and Sinigaglia; whilst Tuscany, then in its highest state of riches and population, remained as a patrimonial inheritance at his absolute disposal. Thus fortunately situated, and the continuation

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tion of his prosperity being secured by friendly alliances with the other sovereigns of Europe, he not only indulged his natural disposition in the encouragement of literature, and the promotion of works of art, but is said to have devoted himself to an indolent course of life, from which he was roused only by the pursuit of his pleasures, which consisted in music, in hunting, or in the company of jesters and buffoons. From this quarter therefore no danger was apprehended; and in the confidence of the continuance of tranquillity, Italy had already revived from her terrors, and begun to lose the remembrance of her past calamities.

Leo seizes upon several of the smaller states.

If, however, the pope devoted his leisure to amusement, it may be doubted whether he had thereby acquired that total dislike of public business, which has been so generally attributed to him; on the contrary, if we may judge from his conduct, it may be presumed that no one watched more narrowly over the affairs of Italy, or observed those of Europe with greater vigilance. For some years he had turned his attention towards the smaller states in the vicinity of the Roman territory, which had been seized upon by successful adventurers, or were occupied by domestic tyrants, but over which the church had always asserted

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asserted its superiority, whenever an opportunity occurred of enforcing its claims. The city of Perugia was governed by Gian-Paolo Baglioni, who, if we may believe contemporary historians, was a monster of iniquity and impiety; but the cruelty with which he exercised his usurped authority, rendered him no less an object of dread, than his other crimes did of horror.(a) Acting on those maxims which he appears to have adopted on other occasions, and which, however fallacious, have found apologists in subsequent times, Leo conceived that against such an offender, every species of treachery was justifiable. Pretending therefore, that he wished to consult with Baglioni on affairs of importance, he invited him to Rome; but Baglioni, affecting to be indisposed, sent in his stead his son Gian-Paolo, for the purpose of discovering the intentions of the pope. Leo received the youth with the greatest kindness, and after detaining him some time, sent him back to his father, whom he again requested to

(a) "Dall' anonimo Padovano, scrittore contemporaneo ci vien dipinto come tiranno non solo di questa citta, ma di tutti i luoghi circonvicini; uomo empio, senza fede, e per dir tutto in una parola, monstro di natura orrendissimo. Se di tutto egli fosse reo, nol saprei dire." *Murat. Ann.* x. 142.

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to take a journey to Rome, and in order to insure his safety, transmitted to him a safe conduct. The violation of such an assurance was a crime, which even the guilty mind of Baglioni could not conceive, and he accordingly hastened to Rome, where he was admitted to the presence of the pontiff, and to the honour of kissing his feet. On the following day, however, he was taken into custody by Annibale Rangone captain of the pontifical guard, and subjected to the torture, where he is said to have disclosed enormities, the perpetration of which could not have been expiated by a thousand deaths.(a) This treacherous and tyrannical act was closed by the decapitation of Baglioni, in the castle of S. Angelo, and by the pope possessing himself of the states of Perugia; whilst the family of Baglioni sought a shelter at Padua, under the protection of the Venetian republic, in whose service he had long been employed. From similar motives, and under similar pretexts, Leo dispatched Giovanni de' Medici

(a) "Dopo di che processato e tormentato, confessò "un infinità di enormi delitti, per le quali non uno, ma "mille morte meritava; laonde fu una notte decapitato in "Castello Sant' Angelo." *Murat. Ann.* x. 143.

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Medici with one thousand horse and four thousand foot, to attack the city of Fermo, then held by Lodovico Freducci, a military commander of great courage and experience. On the approach of the papal army, Freducci quitted the city, and attempted to make his escape at the head of two hundred horse; but having been intercepted by Giovanni and refusing to submit, he was, after a desperate resistance, left dead on the field, with one half of his followers; and Fermo was received into the obedience of the papal see.(a) The fall of Freducci intimidated the petty tyrants who had possessed themselves of cities or fortresses in the march of Ancona; some of whom effected their safety by flight, and others resorted to Rome to solicit the clemency of the pope. It appeared, however, that they who distrusted him, had formed a more accurate judgment of his character, than they who confided in him; several of the latter having been imprisoned and a strict inquiry made into their conduct; in consequence of which, such as were supposed to have committed the greatest enormities were executed, without any regard to the circumstances

(a) *Murat. Annal. vol.* x. *p.* 143.

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cumstances under which they had placed themselves in the power of the pontiff.(a)

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In the dissensions between Leo X. and the French monarchs, the part adopted by the duke of Ferrara had given great offence to the pope, who did not, however, discover by his public conduct, the resentment which he harboured in his breast. After having frequently been called upon, without effect, to fulfil his promise of restoring to the duke the cities of Modena and Reggio, Leo at length avowed his resolution to retain them; and in the close of the year 1519, when Alfonso was incapacitated by sickness from attending to his defence, and his life was supposed to be in danger, the vigilant pontiff marched an army into the vicinity of Ferrara, for the purpose, as was supposed, of occupying the government in case of the death of

Attempts the duchy of Ferrara.

(a) *Murat. Annal. vol.* x. 143. "Est et laqueo suspensus *Amadeus* Recinatium Tyrannus, rerum novarum author. Itemque è Fabriano Piceni oppido nobili *Zibichius*, qui turbulentissimis concionibus passim habitis, exules et oberatos ad arma concitarat. Luit et capite pœnas apud Beneventanos *Hector Severianus*, vir sanguinarius, factione potens, et virium robore insignis," &c. *Jov. vita Leon.* x. *lib.* iv. *p.* 83.

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the duke. The friendship and active interference of Federigo marquis of Mantua, who had shortly before succeeded to that dignity, on the death of his father Francesco, defeated this project. The Roman army was withdrawn, and mutual expressions of confidence and respect took place between the pontiff and the duke. These circumstances did not, however, prevent the pope, in the course of the ensuing year, from forming a plan for possessing himself of the city of Ferrara by treachery. The person whom he employed for this purpose was Uberto Gambara an apostolic protonotary, who afterwards attained the dignity of the purple. A secret intercourse was established between Uberto, and Ridolfo Hello the captain of a body of German soldiers in the service of the duke, who having received a sum of two thousand ducats as the reward of his treason, engaged to deliver up one of the gates of the city to the papal troops. Orders were accordingly sent to Guido Rangone who commanded the papal army, and to Guicciardini governor of Modena, to collect their forces under other pretexts, and to be in readiness to possess themselves of the gate, which they were to defend until further succours should arrive; but when the plan was arranged and the day for the

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the attack agreed on, it was discovered that Ridolfo had from the beginning communicated the whole affair to Alfonso, who having seen sufficient of the intention of the pontiff and being unwilling that matters should proceed to extremities, took the necessary means for convincing the pope that Ridolfo had imposed upon him.(a) The conduct of Leo X.

(a) Muratori has not scrupled to assert that the pope entered into a conspiracy to assassinate the duke, and that Guicciardini found himself unintentionally involved in this black transaction. For this imputation he refers, in general, to the Ferrarese historians, and to Guicciardini. I have taken the trouble of examining these writers, and apprehend that Muratori has on this, as on other occasions, been led by his partiality to the family of Este, to extend the accusation against the pope beyond what his authorities can justify. Of the histories of Ferrara, that of Pigna terminates in the year 1476, and consequently throws no light on this transaction. Gyraldi, although he relates the animosity between the duke and the pontiff, and mentions the determination of the latter to possess himself of Ferrara, has not accused him of any treacherous attempt against the life of the duke; Sardi, or rather his continuator Faustini, has indeed informed us, "that in the beginning of the "year 1520, the life of the duke was attempted by one "Ridolfello, captain of his German guard, who having "been corrupted by a large sum of money, entered his "chamber with an intent to assassinate him; but that being "overawed

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towards the duke of Ferrara discloses some of the darkest shades in his character; and in this instance, we find those licentious principles which induced him to forfeit his most solemn promises, on pretence of the criminality of those to whom they were made, extended to accomplish the ruin of a prince who had not, by his conduct, furnished any pretext for such an attempt.

Leo meditates the expulsion of the French and Spaniards from Italy.

Nor were the designs of the pope, at this period, limited to the subjugation of the smaller states of Italy. The most decisive evidence yet remains, that he had not only formed a project for expelling the French monarch from the territories of Milan and of

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" overawed by the appearance and countenance of the " duke, he relinquished his design, and confessed the " whole transaction." This relation differs so greatly from that of Muratori, that it can scarcely be considered as the authority on which he has relied. Faustini has not even insinuated that the pope was an accomplice, nor has he connected this transaction with the movements of the papal army. The narrative of Guicciardini corresponds with that which I have given, and contains no charge of any intention on the part of the pontiff to *assassinate* the duke; nor has Paulus Jovius, who has left a very full and circumstantial narrative of the life of Alfonso, taken any notice of such a transaction.

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of Genoa, but that he also intended to turn his arms against the kingdom of Naples, and, by delivering it from the yoke of the Spaniards, to acquire the honour to which Julius II. had so ardently aspired, of being considered as the assertor of the liberties of Italy. He was, however, well aware, that these great undertakings could not be accomplished merely by his own strength and his own resources, and he therefore resolved to take advantage of the dissensions which had already arisen between Francis I. and the emperor, to carry his purposes into effect.

Engages a body of Swiss mercenaries.

Before he engaged in negotiations, which he foresaw must involve him in hostilities, he resolved to raise such a force as would not only be sufficient for his own defence, but would enable him to co-operate vigorously with his allies, in effecting the purposes which he had in view. To this end he dispatched as his envoy to Switzerland, Antonio Pucci bishop of Pistoja, with directions to raise for his service a body of six thousand men.(a) In this undertaking the bishop found no difficulty, as the pontiff had, ever since the war

(a) *Guicciard. lib.* xiv. *vol.* ii. *p.* 175.

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war of Urbino, taken care to renew his treaties with the Helvetic chiefs, and had intrusted the bishop with one hundred and fifty thousand gold crowns for their pay.(a) Having thus prepared the way for active operations, he proposed to Francis I. to unite with him in an attack upon the kingdom of Naples. In the conditions of this treaty it was stipulated that Gaeta and the whole of the Neapolitan territory between the river Garigliano and the ecclesiastical state, should be united to the dominion of the church; and that the remainder of the kingdom should be held for the second son of the French monarch, who was then an infant, and should be governed by an apostolic nuncio, until he was enabled to take upon himself the government.(b) Whilst these negotiations were depending, the Swiss troops in the service of the pope were permitted to pass through the states of Milan, and were stationed in different parts of Romagna and the march of Ancona. This, however, was the only advantage which Leo derived from his treaty with the French

(a) *Muratori, Annali, vol.* x. *p.* 146.

(b) *Guicciard. chap.* xiv. *vol.* ii. *p.* 175.

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French monarch; and was, in all probability, the sole object which he had in view. Francis now began to see with jealousy the conduct of the pontiff, and declined the overtures which had been made to him. His delay, or his refusal, afforded Leo a plausible pretext for a step which it is highly probable that he had previously determined upon; and he immediately and openly united his forces with those of the emperor, for the express purpose of wresting from Francis the dominion of Milan, and expelling the French from Italy.(a)

Treaty with the emperor for restoring the family of Sforza to Milan.

On the expulsion and death of Maximiliano Sforza, the right of that family to the supreme authority of the Milanese had devolved upon his brother Francesco, who had taken refuge at Trent, where he impatiently waited for a favourable opportunity of recovering the possessions of his ancestors; having constantly refused all the offers of the French monarch to induce him to relinquish his claims. His expectations had been encouraged by the zeal and activity of Girolamo Morone, formerly chancellor of Maximiliano duke

(a) *Muratori, Annali, vol.* x. *p.* 146.

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duke of Milan, and by whose advice that city had been surrendered to the French; but who, not having experienced from Francis I. the same attentions as from his predecessor Louis XII. had assiduously, though secretly, laboured to overturn his authority. By the interference of Morone, a treaty was concluded, on the eighth day of May, 1521, between the pope and the emperor, for establishing Francesco Sforza in his dominions. By this treaty it was also stipulated, that the cities of Parma and Piacenza should again be united to the dominions of the church; that the emperor should support the claims of the pope on the Ferrarese; and that he should confer on Alessandro de' Medici the illegitimate son of Lorenzo duke of Urbino, then about nine years of age, a territorial possession in Naples; *(a)* and on the cardinal Giulio de' Medici, a pension of ten thousand crowns, payable from the archbishopric of Toledo, then lately vacated. *(b)* But for the more effectual

(a) This was agreed to be the duchy of Cività di Penna, which brought in an annual revenue of ten thousand crowns, and which Alessandro afterwards enjoyed.

(b) This treaty is given by Lünig, *Codex Ital. diplomat.* vol.

fectual accomplishment of the objects proposed, it was agreed that this alliance should not be made public until measures had been taken, as well in Genoa as in Milan, for overturning the authority of the French, either by fraud or by force.

The French general L'Ecus made a prisoner by Guicciardini and liberated.

The government of the French in Milan had given great dissatisfaction, insomuch that many of the noble and principal inhabitants had quitted the city, and taken refuge in different parts of Italy, intending to join the standard of Francesco Sforza as soon as he should be enabled to take the field. By the advice of Morone, it was determined that this force should be concentrated in the city of Reggio, which place, as well as the city of Modena, was then governed on behalf of the pope by the historian Guicciardini, who was directed secretly to forward the enterprise, and to advance to Morone ten thousand ducats for the pay of his troops. About the same time, the papal gallies were ordered to unite with those of the emperor then at Naples, and to proceed with two thousand Spaniards to the port of Genoa, accompanied by Girolamo

vol. i. *p.* 167, and by Du Mont, *Corps Diplomat. vol.* iv. *par.* viii. *suppl. p.* 96.

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Girolamo Adorno, one of the Genoese exiles who had been compelled to quit that place by the rival faction of the Fregosi, and whose appearance it was expected would conciliate the favour of the populace to the attempt. The doge Fregoso had, however, been informed of their approach, and had so effectually secured the coast, that the commander of the fleet found it expedient to retire without attempting to disembark.(a) In the mean time the Sieur de L'Ecus,(b) who during the absence of his brother Odet de Foix Mareschal de Lautrec, held the chief authority in Milan, being apprized of the assemblies of the Milanese exiles within the papal states, resolved to use his endeavours for suppressing them. Taking with him therefore a company of four hundred horse, and followed by Federigo Gonzaga lord of Bozzolo, at the head of one thousand infantry, he made his appearance before the gates of Reggio, in the hope, as Guicciardini conjectures, that he might

(a) *Guicciard. lib.* xiv. *vol.* ii. *p.* 183.

(b) Thomas de Foix Sieur de L'Ecus. Capello in his commentaries, denominates him *Tomaso Fusio chiamato Monsignor de L'Escus;* Guicciardini calls him *Lo Scudo,* and Robertson the *Mareschal de Foix.*

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might be enabled to secure the persons of the exiles, either by prevailing upon the governor, who was not a soldier by profession and was supposed to be wholly unprovided for an attack, to deliver them up to him, or by availing himself of some pretext for entering the place. Guicciardini had, however, received intimation of his design, and had requested the papal commander Guido Rangone, then in the Modenese, to enter the city of Reggio by night; he had also called in to his assistance the soldiers raised by Morone, and directed that the neighbouring inhabitants should be in readiness at the sound of the bell to repair to the gates. In the morning the French commander presented himself before the city, and sent one of his officers to request an interview with the governor. Guicciardini complied with his wishes, and a place was appointed where the meeting should take place without the walls. L'Ecus accordingly made his appearance with several of his followers, and dismounting from his horse proceeded towards the gate through which Guicciardini and his attendants passed to meet him. The French commander then began to complain to the governor, that he had shewn favour and afforded support to the Milanese rebels, who had been suffered to assemble in that city for hostile

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hostile purposes; whilst the governor, on the other hand, lamented that a body of French troops had thus, without any previous representations having been made as to their object, suddenly entered the dominions of the church. During this interview, one of the French officers, availing himself of the opportunity afforded him by the opening of one of the gates, for the purpose of admitting a waggon laden with corn, attempted to enter the city at the head of his troops, but was repulsed by the soldiers provided for its defence. This incident excited a general alarm, and the inhabitants, supposing that the French commander had been privy to the attempt, began to discharge their artillery from the walls, by which Alessandro Trivulzio, an eminent Italian commander in the service of the French, who stood near L'Ecus, received a wound of which he died on the second day following; nor was it to be attributed to any other cause than the fear of injuring the governor, that L'Ecus himself escaped. In his turn he accused Guicciardini of treachery; and not knowing whether to remain where he stood, or to seek his safety in flight, suffered the governor to take him by the hand and lead him into the city, accompanied only by La Motte, one of his officers. The rest of his troops,

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troops, supposing that their chief was taken prisoner, betook themselves to flight in such haste, that several of them left their weapons behind them. After a full explanation had taken place, Guicciardini set at liberty the French commander, who dispatched La Motte to Rome to inform the pope of the cause of his visit to Reggio, and to request that he would give orders for prohibiting the assembling of the Milanese exiles within his territories.(a) Of this incident Leo availed himself to represent to the consistory the misconduct and treachery of the French, whom he accused of a design of possessing themselves of the city of Reggio; he declared it to be his intention to unite his arms with those of the emperor; and although the treaty with Charles V. had actually been concluded, he now affected to treat with the imperial ambassador as to the terms of the confederation, and issued a papal bull, by which he excommunicated as well the French monarch, as his two commanders Odet and Thomas de Foix, until they should restore the cities of Parma and

(a) *Guicciard. lib.* xiv. *vol.* ii. *p.* 180. *Murator. Annal. vol.* x. *p.* 147.

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and Piacenza to the authority of the holy see.(a)

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Hostilities commenced against the French.

Hostilities being now unavoidable, Leo called to Rome the celebrated Italian commander Prospero Colonna, who had been appointed by the emperor one of the Imperial generals, to consult with him on the most effectual means of carrying on the war.(b) He also engaged in his service Federigo marquis of Mantua,(c) and conferred on him the title of

(a) This document is preserved in Du Mont, *Corps Diplomat. Suppl. vol.* iii. *p.* i. *p.* 71. Charles V. also issued an imperial edict which Leo published at Rome. About this time an explosion of gunpowder happened in the citadel of Milan, supposed to have been occasioned by lightning, by which several French soldiers lost their lives, and the fortifications were considerably damaged. *Guicciard. lib.* xiv. *vol.* ii. *p.* 185. This incident is commemorated in a Latin poem by Antonius Thylisius, of Cosenza, entitled, *Turris de cœlo percussa;* published, with his other poems, at Rome, 1524. 8vo.

(b) *Murator. Annal. vol.* x. *p.* 148.

(c) He had previously entered into stipulations with the marquis for 300 men at arms, the treaty for which is given by Du Mont, *Corps diplomat. vol.* iv. *par.* i. *p.* 322.

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of captain-general of the church, to which he had long aspired. On this occasion the marquis sent back to France the insignia of the order of S. Michael, with which he had been honoured by the king.(a) The army of the allies consisted of six thousand Italian troops, two thousand Spaniards who had returned from the attack of Genoa, and two thousand more who were dispatched from Naples, under the command of Ferdinando D'Avalos marquis of Pescara. These were afterwards joined by six thousand Germans, raised at the joint expense of the pope and the emperor, and by the Swiss troops which Leo had brought into Italy; whose numbers had, however, been reduced, by the return of many of their associates, to about two thousand. If to these be added the papal and Florentine troops not enumerated with the above, the force of the allied army may be computed to have amounted to upwards of twenty thousand men.(b) Of these the chief command was confided to Prospero Colonna; but

(a) *Guicciard. lib.* xiv. *vol.* ii. *p.* 186.

(b) *Ibid. p.* 187.

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but the immediate direction of the papal army was intrusted to Guicciardini, who under the name of commissary-general, was expressly invested with authority over the marquis of Mantua. In the month of August, the Italian troops assembled at Bologna; and Colonna, having soon afterwards effected a junction with the German and Spanish auxiliaries, proceeded to the attack of Parma.

Francis I. prepares to defend his Italian possessions.

These formidable proceedings occasioned great alarm to Francis I. who now began to perceive the effects of his own imprudence in divesting the pope of Parma and Piacenza. But whilst he endeavoured in vain to mitigate the resentment of the pontiff, he resorted to such measures as seemed necessary for the defence of his possessions, and Lautrec then in France, was ordered to return to his government, with a promise on the part of the king that he should speedily receive a supply of three hundred thousand ducats. On his arrival, Lautrec began to collect the French forces dispersed in different parts of Lombardy. The Venetians also dispatched to the assistance of their allies a body of eight thousand foot and about nine hundred horse, under the command of Teodoro Trivulzio and

Andrea

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Andrea Gritti.(a) The most strenuous efforts of both the contending parties were, however, employed in obtaining the assistance of the Swiss, on whose determination it was conceived that the event of the contest would finally depend; and notwithstanding the representations and promises of the cardinal of Sion, and of the imperial envoys, the cantons agreed to fulfil the treaty which they had previously formed with Francis I. and to supply him with a considerable force; in consequence of which four thousand of these mercenaries, being a comparatively small part of the number for which he had stipulated, arrived at Milan.(b) Lautrec now commenced his operations, and dispatching his brother L'Ecus, at the head of five hundred lances, and Federigo of Bozzolo, with five thousand infantry to the defence of Parma, employed the utmost vigilance in securing the city of Milan and the rest of its territory against the expected attack.

The allies attack Parma.

The allied forces, after various dissensions between

(a) *Murator. Annal, vol.* x. *p.* 147.

(b) The number agreed for was ten thousand. v. *Guicciard. lib.* xiv. *vol.* ii. *p.* 188. *Planta's Hist. of the Helvetic States, vol.* ii. *p.* 115.

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between the Italian, German, and Spanish troops, and great diversity of opinion amongst the commanders, at length commenced their attack upon Parma; and although they were frequently on the point of relinquishing the attempt, they at length succeeded in compelling the French garrison to retire to that part of the city which lies beyond the river, and immediately occupied the station which their adversaries had left. The inhabitants of this district expressed the greatest satisfaction on being again restored to the dominion of the church; but their joy was speedily terminated by the outrages committed by the promiscuous soldiery, who had proceeded to sack the city. From this violence they were, however, at last restrained by the most decisive measures on the part of the commander Colonna, who among other instances of a just severity, executed by the halter a number of soldiers, who had violated the sanctuary of a monastery, and thus at length succeeded in appeasing the tumult.(a)

In the mean time, the French and Venetian army, of which Lautrec had now taken the

(a) *Murator. Annal. vol.* x. *p.* 148.

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the command, although consisting of upwards of fifteen thousand men, had remained inactive, in expectation of the arrival of the additional body of six thousand Swiss, by whose assistance they might be enabled to oppose the papal and imperial troops in the field. On receiving intelligence of the attack upon Parma, they advanced, however, to the banks of the Taro, about seven miles from that city, for the purpose of opposing the further progress of the enemy.(a) At this juncture, the hopes of the French were encouraged by the duke of Ferrara, who having discovered the tenor of the treaty between the pope and the emperor, and finding no security for himself, but in the success of the French, took the field at the head of a formidable body of troops, and advancing into the Modenese, captured the towns of Finale and San Felice, threatening even the city of Modena. This unexpected event compelled the allies to divide their forces; Guido Rangone was dispatched with a powerful body of troops to oppose the duke of Ferrara; all further attempts on the city of Parma were abandoned; and an opportunity was afforded the French

The duke of Ferrara joins the French.

(a) *Muratori, Annali, vol.* x. *p.* 149.

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commander of supplying the place with provisions, and fortifying it against subsequent attacks.(a)

The cardinal Giulio de' Medici legate to the allied army.

The retreat of the papal army from Parma was a cause of great vexation to the pontiff, who had hitherto been obliged to bear almost the whole expenses of the war, and who now began to doubt whether his views had not been counteracted by the insincerity of his allies.(b) He therefore, by means of his envoy the cardinal of Sion, redoubled his efforts to obtain a reinforcement from the Swiss; and although the Helvetic chiefs had already dispatched several bodies of troops into Italy, to the aid of the French, yet such was their avidity for pay and for plunder, that they agreed to furnish the pope with twelve thousand men, under the pretext that they should be employed only in the defence of the states of the church.(c) At the same time Leo dispatched his cousin, the cardinal Giulio de' Medici, under

(a) *Muratori, Annali, vol.* x. *p.* 149.

(b) *Guicciard. lib.* xiv. *vol.* ii. *p.* 198. *Murator. Annal. vol.* x. *p.* 149.

(c) *Guicciard. lib.* xiv. *vol.* ii. *p.* 199.

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under the title of legate of the church, to take upon himself the superintendence of the allied army, and to allay by his authority the disputes and jealousies which had arisen among the commanders, and which seemed daily to increase.

The Swiss in the service of France desert to the enemy.

The opposing armies, after frequent movements and some skirmishes of little importance, now waited with the utmost impatience for the arrival of those reinforcements from Switzerland, which had been promised to both, and which were expected to give the party which should obtain their services a decided superiority. A considerable body of these mercenaries at length arrived, and formed a junction at Gambara with their countrymen in the pay of the allies; the two cardinal legates of Medici and of Sion, decorated with their crosses of silver, marching in the midst of them, to the great scandal of their religion and office. A negotiation was now opened, in which it may be presumed the services of the Swiss were offered to the highest bidder; but the French commander having been disappointed in his promised supply of three hundred thousand ducats from France, which had been appropriated by the duchess of Angoulême mother of the French monarch to her own

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own use, the offers and promises of the pontifical legates prevailed; and the Swiss, notwithstanding the remonstrances and efforts of Lautrec, united their forces with those of Colonna; whilst those in the service of the French monarch deserted their standards, and either joined the papal troops or returned to their own country.

The allies pass the Adda.

Dispirited by this disappointment, and alarmed at the accession of strength which his adversaries had thus obtained, Lautrec thought it expedient to retreat beyond the banks of the Adda. Having therefore strongly garrisoned Cremona and Pizzighitone, he broke up his camp and took his station on the side of the river next to Milan, intending to oppose the further progress of the enemy. The papal and imperial commanders, having with their new accession of strength acquired fresh spirits, resolved to relinquish all attempts of less importance and proceed immediately to attack the city of Milan. The passage of the river was conducted with a degree of secrecy and dispatch which is allowed to have conferred great honour on Colonna; and its success attached no less disgrace to the military talents of Lautrec, who had boasted, even in a dispatch to his sovereign, that he would prevent his

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his enemies from effecting their purpose. The transportation of the army took place at Vauri, about five miles from Cassano, where the French troops were then encamped; the cardinal de' Medici having accompanied the first detachment of the army in one of the boats employed for that purpose.(a) No resistance was made on the part of the French; and although the movement was rendered tedious by various circumstances unavoidable in such an attempt, yet a considerable body of the allied army effected a landing. It might have been presumed, that when Lautrec was apprized of this circumstance, he would have marched his whole force against the invaders; but after a fatal deliberation of some hours, he dispatched his brother, with a body of French infantry, four hundred lances, and some pieces of artillery, to oppose their further progress. A vigorous action took place, in which the superiority was warmly contested. The French commander, with the cavalry, fought with great courage; and if the artillery had arrived in time it is supposed that the French would have repulsed the allies. The troops which had not yet passed, seeing

(a) *Guicciard. lib.* xiv. *vol.* ii. *p.* 207.

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seeing the danger to which their associates were exposed, made the utmost efforts to cross the river to their assistance. Giovanni de-Medici, prompted by that fearless magnanimity by which he was always distinguished, plunged into the current at the head of his troops, mounted on a Turkish horse, and arrived in safety on the opposite shore. By these exertions L'Ecus was compelled to retreat with considerable loss to Cassano, where Lautrec immediately broke up his camp and hastened towards Milan, intending to concentre all his forces in the defence of that capital. On his arrival he committed an act of useless and imprudent severity, by the public execution of Cristoforo Pallavicini, a nobleman not less respectable by his age and character than by his rank and influence, and who had previously been committed to prison as a partisan of the pope, between whom and his family there had long subsisted a friendly intimacy.

Capture of Milan.

On the nineteenth day of November, 1521, the allied army arrived without further opposition in the vicinity of Milan, where an incident took place which has been represented as of a very surprising nature. Whilst the legates and principal officers were debating, near

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near the abbey of Chiaravalle, on the mode to be adopted for the attack of the city, they are said to have been accosted by an old man, in the dress of a peasant, who informed them that if they would instantly prosecute their enterprise, the inhabitants would, at the sound of the bells, take up arms against the French; an incident, says Guicciardini, "which appears marvellous; as, notwithstanding all "the diligence that could be used, it never "was discovered either who this messenger "was, or by whom he had been sent." At the approach of night, Ferdinando d'Avalos marquis of Pescara, at the head of the Spanish troops, proceeded to the attack. On presenting himself before one of the bastions in the suburbs of the city, which was defended by a party of Venetians, a mutual discharge of musquetry took place; but on the assailants making an attempt to scale the walls, the Venetians, abandoning their station, betook themselves to flight.(a) The marquis, pursuing his good fortune, entered the suburbs, and after a short contest, in which the Venetian commander Trivulzio was wounded and taken prisoner, dispersed the French and their allies.

(a) *Commentarj di Galeazzo Capella, lib. i. p.* 11.

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allies. On his approaching the gates of the city, they were instantly opened by his partisans, whilst the cardinal de' Medici and the other chiefs were received with their followers at another of the gates, according to the assurances received from their unknown visitor. The French commander, surprised and dispirited by the sudden approach of the enemy, and terrified by the general indignation expressed by the populace, withdrew with his troops to Como, having first strongly garrisoned the citadel of Milan. Some apprehensions were entertained for the safety of the citizens from the violence of the victorious army; but by the vigilant conduct of the cardinal de' Medici and the prudent advice of Morone, all outrage was prevented, and a proclamation was issued prohibiting on pain of death any injury to the inhabitants.(a) In the morning an embassy of twelve citizens of the order of nobility, appeared before the cardinal legate to surrender the city and entreat protection. Morone, in the name of Francesco Maria Sforza, now regarded as duke of Milan, took possession of the government under the title of his lieutenant. The other cities

(a) *Capella, Commentarj, lib. i. p. 11.*

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cities of the Milanese successively submitted to his authority, and Parma and Piacenza once more acknowledged the sovereignty of the Roman see.(a)

The allies attack the duke of Ferrara.

No sooner had the papal commanders accomplished this object, than they turned their arms against the duke of Ferrara, who by an act of open hostility, had now afforded the pope that pretext for a direct attack upon him, which he had long sought for. The towns of Finale and San Felice were speedily retaken, and many of the principal places of the duchy of Ferrara, on the confines of Romagna, were occupied by the papal troops. The Florentines at the same time possessed themselves of the extensive district of Garfagnana, whilst Guicciardini, as commissary of the pope, seized upon the small province of Frignano, which had been remarkable for its fidelity in adhering to the duke. In the midst of these hostilities the pope issued a monitory, in which, after loading the duke with reproaches, he excommunicated him as a rebel to the church and placed the city of Ferrara under an

(a) *Guicciardini, lib.* xiv. *vol.* ii. *p.* 211. *Muratori, Annali, vol.* x. *p.* 151.

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an interdict. The violence of these measures, instead of intimidating the duke, only served to stimulate his exertions and to rouse his resentment. He determined to defend his dominions to the last extremity. He fortified the city of Ferrara as completely as possible and provided it with ammunition and provisions for a siege. He increased his Italian militia and engaged in his service four thousand German mercenaries. To the monitory of the pope he replied by a manifesto, wherein he insisted on the justice of his cause and bitterly complained of the outrageous and treacherous conduct of the pontiff. But just as the storm was expected to burst forth, an event occurred which not only relieved him from his apprehensions, but produced a most important alteration in the concerns of Italy and in the general aspect of the times.(a)

Sudden indisposition of Leo X.

When the intelligence arrived of the capture of Milan and the recovery of Parma and Piacenza, Leo was passing his time at his villa of Malliana. He immediately returned to Rome,

(a) Alfonso has commemorated his unexpected deliverance in a medal struck on this occasion, with the motto, EX ORE LEONIS.

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Rome, where he arrived on Sunday the twenty-fourth day of November, for the purpose of giving the necessary directions to his commanders and partaking in the public rejoicings on this important victory. It was at first rumoured that the cardinal de' Medici had prevailed upon Francesco Sforza to cede to him the sovereignty of Milan, in consideration of which he had agreed to surrender to the duke his cardinal's hat, with the office of chancellor of the holy see and all his benefices, amounting to the annual sum of fifty thousand ducats; and it was supposed to be on this account that the pope expressed such symptoms of joy and satisfaction as he had on no other occasion evinced, and gave orders that the rejoicings should be continued in the city during three days. On being asked by his master of the ceremonies whether it would not also be proper to return solemn thanks to God on such an occasion, he desired to be informed of the opinion of this officer. The master of the ceremonies told the pope, that when there was a war between any of the Christian princes, it was not usual for the church to rejoice upon any victory, unless the holy see derived some benefit from it; that if the pope therefore thought that he had obtained any great advantages, he should manifest his joy by returning thanks

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thanks to God; to which the pope smiling replied, "that he had indeed obtained a great "prize."(a) He then gave directions that a consistory should be held on Wednesday the twenty-seventh day of November; and finding himself somewhat indisposed he retired to his chamber, where he took a few hours' rest.(b)

His death.

The indisposition of the pontiff excited at first but little alarm, and was attributed by his physicians to a cold caught at his villa. The consistory was not, however, held; and on the morning of Sunday the first day of December, the pope suddenly died. This event was so unexpected, that he is said to have expired without those ceremonies which are considered as of such essential importance by the Roman church.(c) Jovius relates, that a short

(a) "Quod bonum magnum in manibus haberet."
Par. de Grassis, Diar. inedit.

(b) These circumstances are related on the authority of Paris de Grassis. The original is given in the Appendix, No. CCXII.

(c) The death of the pontiff without the sacraments, occasioned

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short time before his death, he returned thanks to God with his hands clasped together and his eyes raised to heaven; and expressed his readiness to submit to his approaching fate, after having lived to see the cities of Parma and Piacenza restored to the church and the French effectually humbled;(a) but this narrative deserves little further credit, than such as it derives from the mere probability of such a circumstance. In truth the circumstances attending the death of the pontiff are involved in mysterious and total obscurity, and the accounts given of this event by Varillas and similar writers in subsequent times, are the spurious offspring of their own imagination.(b) Some information on this important

occasioned the following lines, attributed, but perhaps without reason, to Sanazzaro.

"Sacra sub extrema si forte requiritis hora
"Cur Leo non potuit sumere; vendiderat."

(a) *Jovii, vita Leon.* x. *lib.* iv. *p.* 93.

(b) *Anecdotes de Florence, p.* 303. *Essais de Montaigne, vol.* i. *p.* 15. *Seckendorff, lib.* i. *sec.* xlvii. *p.* 191. *&c.* A very apocryphal account of the conduct of the pontiff in his last moments, is also given by Fra Callisto Piacentino, regular canon of the Lateran, an enthusiastic preacher

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portant event might have been expected from the diary of the master of the ceremonies, Paris de Grassis; but it is remarkable, that from Sunday the twenty-fourth day of November, when the pope withdrew to his chamber, to the same day in the following week, when he expired, no notice is taken by this officer of the progress of his disorder, of the particulars of his conduct, or of the means adopted for his recovery. On the last mentioned day Paris de Grassis was called upon to make preparations for the funeral of the pontiff. He found the body already cold and livid. After having

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preacher of the school of Savonarola; who in one of his discourses on the words, *Seminastis multum et intulistis parum*, exclaims, "Povero Papa Leone! che s'aveva congregato tante dignitadi, tanti thesori, tanti palazzi, tanti amici, tanti servitori, et a quella ultimo passaggio del pertuso del sacco, ogni cosa ne cadde fuori. Solo vi rimase Frate Mariano, il qual per esser leggiere (ch' egli era buffone) come una festuca rimase attaccato al sacco; che arrivato quello povero Papa al punto di morte, di quanto e' s'havesse in questo mondo nulla ne rimase, eccetto Frate Mariano, che solo l'anima gli raccomandava, dicendo, *Raccordatevi di Dio, Santo Padre.* E il povero Papa, in agonia constituto, a meglio che potea, replicando dicea, *Dio buono, Dio buono, O Dio buono!* et così l'anima rese al suo Signore. Vedi s'egli è vero, che *qui congregat merces ponit eos in sacculum pertusum.*" *ap. Tirab. Storia della Lett. Ital. vol.* vii. *par.* iii. *p.* 419.

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having given such directions as seemed to him requisite on the occasion, he summoned the cardinals to meet on the following day. All the cardinals then in Rome, being twenty-nine in number, accordingly attended; but the concourse of the people was so great in the palace, that it was with difficulty they could make their way to the assembly. The object of this meeting was to arrange the ceremonial of the funeral, which it was ordered should take place on the evening of the same day.(a)

Reasons for believing that Leo X. was poisoned.

Such is the dubious and unsatisfactory narrative of the death of Leo X. which occurred when he had not yet completed the forty-sixth year of his age; having reigned eight years, eight months, and nineteen days. It was the general opinion at the time, and has been confirmed by the suffrages of succeeding historians, that his death was occasioned by the excess of his joy on hearing of the success of his arms. If, however, after all the vicissitudes of fortune which Leo had experienced, his mind had not been sufficiently fortified to resist this influx of good fortune,

(a) v. Appendix, No. CCXIII.

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fortune, it is probable that its effects would have been more sudden. On this occasion it has been well observed, that an excess of joy is dangerous only on a first emotion, and that Leo survived this intelligence eight days.(a) It seems therefore not unlikely that this story was fabricated merely as a pretext to conceal the real cause of his death; and that the slight indisposition and temporary seclusion of the pontiff, afforded an opportunity for some of his enemies to gratify their resentment, or promote their own ambitious views, by his destruction. Some circumstances are related which gave additional credibility to this supposition. Before the body of the pope was interred, Paris de Grassis, perceiving it to be much inflated, inquired from the consistory whether they would have it opened and examined, to which they assented. On performing this operation, the medical attendants reported that he had certainly died by poison. To this it is added, that during his illness the pope had frequently complained of an internal burning, which was attributed to the same cause, "whence," says Paris

(a) *M. de Brèquigny, ap. Notices des MSS. du Roi. tom.* ii. *p.* 596.

Paris de Grassis, " it is certain that the pope " was poisoned." In confirmation of this opinion, a singular incident is also recorded by the same officer, who relates in his diary, that a few days before the indisposition of the pontiff, a person unknown and disguised, called upon one of the monks in the monastery of S. Jerom, and requested him to inform the pope, that an attempt would be made by one of his confidential servants to poison him; not in his food but by his linen. The friar, not choosing to convey this intelligence to the pope who was then at Malliana, communicated it to the datary, who immediately acquainted the pope with it. The friar was sent for to the villa, and having there confirmed in the presence of the pontiff what he had before related, Leo, with great emotion observed, " that if it was the will " of God that he should die, he should submit " to it; but that he should use all the pre- " caution in his power." We are further informed, that in the course of a few days he fell sick, and that with his last words he declared that he had been murdered and could not long survive.*(a)*

(a) v. Appendix, No. CCXIV.

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The consternation and grief of the populace on the death of the pontiff was unbounded. On its being rumoured that he died by poison, they, in the first emotions of their fury, seized upon Bernabò Malespina one of the pope's cup-bearers, who had excited their suspicions by attempting to leave the city at this critical juncture on the pretext of hunting, and dragged him to the castle of S. Angelo. On his examination it was alleged against him, that the day before the pope became indisposed, he had received from Malespina a cup of wine, and after having drank it, had asked in great anger what he meant by giving him so disagreeable and bitter a potion. No sufficient proofs appearing of his guilt, he was, however, soon afterwards liberated; and the cardinal legate de' Medici arriving at the city prohibited any further examination on the subject.(a) He could not, however, prevent the surmises of the

(a) The cardinal de' Medici communicated the intelligence of the death of Leo X. to Henry VIII. in a letter, the original of which is preserved among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum; at the same time the cardinal transmitted to him the papal bull for his new title of Defender of the Faith. *v. Appendix, No. CCXV.*

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the people, some of whom conjectured that Francis I. had been the instigator of the crime; a suspicion wholly inconsistent with the ingenuous and open character of that monarch. It has since been suggested that the duke of Ferrara, whose dominions were so immediately endangered by the hostile attempts of the pontiff, or the exiled duke of Urbino, might have resorted to these insidious means of revenge;(a) but of these individuals the weightier suspicion would fall on the latter, who by his assassination of the cardinal of Pavia, had given a decisive proof that in the gratification of his resentment he knew no bounds; and who had by his complaints and representations to the sacred college, succeeded in exciting a considerable enmity against the pontiff, even within the limits of the Roman court.

His funeral and monument.

The obsequies of the pope were performed in the Vatican, without any extraordinary pomp;(b) the avowed reason of which was the impoverished

(a) *Fabron. vita Leon.* x. *p.* 239.

(b) This event furnished some one of his adversaries with

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impoverished state of the Roman treasury, exhausted as it was alleged by his profuse liberality, and by the wars in which he had been engaged. The recent successes with which his efforts had been crowned, might, however, have supplied both the motives and the resources for a more splendid funeral, if other circumstances, arising from the peculiar and suspicious manner of his death, had not rendered it improper or inexpedient. His funeral panegyric was pronounced by his chamberlain

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with an occasion of stigmatizing his memory by the following lines:

" Obruta in hoc tumulo est, cum corpore, fama Leonis.
" Qui male pavit oves, nunc bene pascit humum."

On the other hand the death of the pontiff gave rise to numerous panegyrics, to which it would be equally tedious and useless to refer, as they may be found in the works of almost all the poets of the time; I shall therefore only cite the following lines of G. M. Toscani, from his *Peplus Italiæ*, *p.* 30.

" Purpureo ante diem Medices velatus amictu,
" Ante diem Petri sede potitus erat;
" Sed non ante diem Musis amplexus amicis,
" Est tamen, heu, Musis mortuus ante diem.
" Hoc etenim Musas sublato nullus amavit.
" Sic Medicem et Musas abstulit hora brevis."

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chamberlain Antonio da Spello, in a rude and illiterate manner, highly unworthy of the subject; for which reason his oration has not been preserved;*(a)* but in the academy *della Sapienza* at Rome, a discourse is annually pronounced in praise of Leo X. Many of these have been printed, and are occasionally met with in rare collections.*(b)* For several years no

(a) "Non trovo notizia a stampa di chi abbia fatta l'ora-" zione funebre a papa Leon X. ma ne' Diarii Manascritti " di Marino Sanuto, nella Biblioteca di S. Marco di Vene-" zia, vi è inserita una lettera anonima, da Roma, 21 Dec. " 1521. in cui si scrive così. *La orazione funebre del* " *papa fu fatta Martedì, che fu l'ultimo giorno delle exequi,* " *per Antonio da Spello, suo Cameriere, assai brutta; e da* " *Piovan di Villa.* Dunque per essere stata troppo inetta " questa orazione restò sconosciuta." *Lettera inedit. del Sig. Abate Jac. Morelli all' Autore.*

(b) "Ogni anno nella *Sapienza* di Roma si fa un' ora-" zione delle lode di Leone; e perciò ne sono a stampa sei " del P. Paulino di sàn Giuseppe, e altre di Alessandro " Burgos, Antonio Maria Vezzosi, Filippo Renazzi, To-" maso Maria Mamacchi ed altri." *Lettera del Sig. Ab. Morelli, ut supr.* Another of these pieces was in the very select collection of the late Canon. Bandini of Florence, and is entitled, TRISMEGISTUS MEDICEUS; *sive* LEO X. P. O. M. *tribus Orationibus in anniversario triennio funere laudatus, a Jacobo Albano Ghibbesio, Medicinæ Doctore, atque in Romana Sapientia Eloquentiæ professore.* CLAMAVIT LEO SUPER SPECULAM, EGO SUM. *Romæ, (ut videtur) in 8vo. sine Typographi nomine. Ex relatione Clariss. Bandini.*

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no monument distinguished the place of his sepulture; but after the death of Clement VII. the cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, having removed his remains from the Vatican to the chapel of *S. Maria ad Minervam*, employed the eminent sculptor Alfonso Lombardi to erect suitable memorials to the memory of the two pontiffs to whom he stood so nearly related. Lombardi accordingly formed the models, after sketches furnished by Michelagnolo, and repaired to Carrara to procure the marble requisite for the purpose; but, on the untimely death of the cardinal, he was deprived of this favourable opportunity of displaying his talents; and through the influence of Lucrezia Salviati, the sister of Leo X. the erection of the monument of that pontiff was intrusted to Baccio Bandinelli, who had made a model of it during the life of Clement VII. and who completed it in the church of *S. Maria ad Minervam*, where it is yet to be seen in the choir behind the great altar, and near to it is that of Clement VII.*(a)* The

(a) "*S. Maria sopra Minerva* belongs to the Domini-"cans, and is of a long, narrow figure. It was built on the "ruins of a temple of Minerva. In the choir are the very "conspicuous mausoleums of Leo X. and Clement VII." *Dr. Smith's Tour on the Continent, vol.* ii. *p.* 154.

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The statue of Leo is the work of Raffaello da Monte Lupo; and that of Clement VII. is by the hand of Giovanni Bigio.(a) Another monument to Leo X. is said to have been erected in the church of *S. Pietro in Vaticano*,(b) under an arch near the famous sculpture of a charity by Michelagnolo; where however it is now no longer to be found.

(a) *Titi, Nuovo studio di Pittura, &c. p.* 20.

(b) "Sotto la volta dell' Arco contiguo erano due depositi, uno di Leone X. che non v'è più; l' altro di Leone XI." *Titi, Nuovo studio. p.* 29.

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DIVERSITY of opinion respecting the character of Leo X.—Causes of such diversity—From his family connexions—From political enmities—From his conduct as head of the church—Inquiry into his real character—His person and manners—His intellectual endowments—His political conduct—His ecclesiastical character—His supposed neglect of sacred literature—Charges of profligacy and irreligion—Aspersions on his moral character—His relaxations and amusements—Encouragement of letters and arts—How far he was rivalled in this respect by the other princes of his time—Conclusion.

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Diversity of opinion respecting the character of Leo X.

AMONG all the individuals of ancient or modern times, who by the circumstances of their lives, by their virtues, or by their talents, have attracted the attention of mankind, there is perhaps no one whose character has stood in so doubtful a light, as that of Leo X. From the time of his pontificate to the present day, the applauses so liberally bestowed upon him by some, have been counterbalanced by the accusations and reproaches of others, and numerous causes have concurred in giving rise to erroneous opinions and violent prejudices respecting him, into which

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which it may now be necessary, or at least excusable, to institute a dispassionate inquiry

Causes of such diversity.

That distinguished excellence, or even superior rank and elevation, is as certainly attended by envy and detraction, as the substance is followed by the shadow, has been the standing remark of all ages; but independently of this common ground of attack, Leo X. was, from various circumstances, the peculiar object of censure and of abuse. This liability to misrepresentation commenced with his birth, which occurred in the bosom of a city at all times agitated by internal commotions, and where the pre-eminent station which his family had long occupied, rendered its members obnoxious to the attacks and reproaches of their political opponents. Hence almost all contemporary historians may be considered as partisans, either warmly attached, or decidedly adverse to him; a circumstance highly unfavourable to the impartiality of historical truth, and which has tinged the current of information at its very source, with the peculiar colouring of the narrator. Nor did these prejudices cease with the death of Leo X. The exalted rank which his family afterwards ac-

From his family connexions.

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quired by its near connexion with the royal house of France, and the important part which some of its members acted in the affairs of Europe, are circumstances, which, whilst they recalled the ancestors and relations of the Medici to more particular notice, gave occasion to the warmest sentiments of commendation and of flattery on the one hand, and to the most unbounded expressions of contempt and of execration on the other.(a)

From political enmities.

Another source of the great diversity of opinion respecting this pontiff, is to be traced to the high office which he filled, and to the manner in which he conducted himself in the political concerns of the times. As many of the Italian potentates, during the wars which desolated

(a) Among these panegyrical and satirical productions may be enumerated *Le Brilliant de la Royne; ou, les vies des hommes illustres du nom de Medici, par Pierre de Boissat, Seigneur de Licieu*, 1593, a work not without merit; but highly favourable to the family of the Medici. On the other hand there appeared in 1663, a piece entitled *Discours merveilleux, de la vie, actions, et deportemens, de la Reyne Catherine de Medicis, Mere de Francis II. Charles IX. Henry III. Rois de France;* in which the character of Leo X. with those of others of the family, is vehemently abused.

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desolated Italy, attached themselves to the cause of foreign powers, in like manner several of the Italian historians have espoused in their writings the interests of other nations, and have hence been led to regard the conduct of Leo X. with an unfavourable eye, as the result of an ambitious and restless disposition. This indifference to the independence and common cause of Italy, is observable even in the greatest of the Italian historians, and has led Guicciardini himself unjustly to depreciate, rather than duly to estimate the merits of the pontiff. The same dereliction of national and patriotic spirit is yet more apparent in Muratori, who has frequently written with too evident a partiality to the cause of the French monarchs; a partiality which is perhaps to be accounted for from the close alliance which subsisted between them and the ancestors of his great patrons, the family of Este. It may further be observed, that Leo frequently exerted his authority, and even employed his arms against the inferior potentates of Italy, some of whom severely felt the weight of his resentment; and that these princes have also had their annalists and panegyrists, who have not scrupled, on many occasions, to sacrifice the reputation of the pontiff to that of their patrons. To these

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may be added various other causes of offence, as well of a public as of a private nature, unavoidably given by the pontiff in the course of his pontificate, and which afforded a plausible opportunity to those whom he had offended, of vilifying his character and loading his memory with calumny and abuse.*(a)*

(a) To the conduct of such persons Lilio Gregorio Gyraldi has pointedly referred in his *Paræneticus adversus Ingratos. op. vol.* ii. *p.* 710, where he thus laments the untimely death of Leo X. and expresses his indignation against those who were so eager to asperse his memory. "O fallacem (quod ait M. Cicero) hominum spem, fragilemque fortunam! O vana nostra studia, quæ in medio sæpe spatio nos deserunt, et in ipso plerunque portu obruuntur! Nos vero miseros atque infelices, qui cum primum tua, *Leo Pontifex Maxime*, sapientia, consilio, et fortitudine liberi esse cœpissemus, in medio felicitatis cursu, te liberatorem ac vindicem Romani Imperii totiusque Italiæ, te sacri ordinis et religionis assertorem, divinarum privatarumque ceremoniarum peritissimum, virtutum denique omnium parentem, fautoremque amisimus." * * * "Tu ergo in hunc, Ingrate, omnibus modis invectus es? Tu canina, non dicam facundia, sed rabie quadam et feritate, latrare et maledicere non desinis? Tu illum scilicet privatas opes, tu publicum ærarium, tu illum Petri patrimonium depeculatum fuisse, illiusque sacram supellectilem distraxisse, sceptrum et tiaram conflasse

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From his conduct as head of the church.

But the most fruitful cause of animosity against Leo X. is to be found in the violence of religious zeal and sectarian hatred. That he was the chief of the Roman church has alone frequently been thought a sufficient reason for attacking him with the most illiberal invectives. To aspersions of this nature he was more particularly exposed by the circumstances of the times in which he lived, and by the part which he was obliged to act in opposing the progress of the reformation. In this kind of warfare, Luther was himself a thorough proficient; nor have his disciples and advocates shewn any want of ability in following his example. Still more unfortunate is it for the character of Leo, that whilst, by the measures which he adopted against the reformers, he drew down upon himself their most unlimited abuse, he has not always had the good fortune to escape the severe censure of the adherents of the Romish church; many of whom have accused him of a criminal lenity, in

" flasse dicis? Tu mitissimum, Ingrate, Pontificem, et " clementissimum, immanem et crudelem, tu liberalissi- " mum et magnificentissimum, prodigum profusumque, et " si quæ fœdiora sunt scurrarum et nebulonum convicia, " fracta illa tua voce, impudentissime, vocare non cessas?" &c.

in neglecting to suppress the new opinions by more efficacious measures, and of attending to his own aggrandizement or gratification, whilst the church of Christ was suffering for want of that aid which it was in his power alone to afford.(a)

Inquiry into his real character.

The difficulties which arise from these various representations respecting the character of Leo X. instead of deterring us from further inquiry, render it a still greater object of speculation and curiosity. What then, we may ask, were his personal and intellectual accomplishments? Was he a man of talents, or a mere favourite of fortune? Will his public and private conduct stand the test of an impartial examination? In what degree is the world indebted to him for the extraordinary proficiency in literature and the arts, which took place during his pontificate? Such are some of the questions which naturally arise, and to which it is now reasonable to expect a reply.

(a) "Papa Leone X. che ruminando alti pensieri di "gloria mondana, e più che agli affari della religione "*agonizante in Germania*, pensando all' ingrandimento "temporale della chiesa." &c. *Murator. Annal. vol.* x. *p.* 145.

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His person and manners.

That the hand of nature has impressed on the external form and features, indications of the mind by which they are animated, is an opinion that has of late received considerable support, and which, under certain restrictions, may be admitted to be well founded. From the accounts which have been transmitted to us of the countenance and person of Leo X. and from the authentic portraits of him which yet remain, there is reason to believe, that his general appearance bespoke an uncommon character; and the skilful physiognomist might yet, perhaps, delight to trace, in the exquisite picture of him by Raffaello, the expressions of those propensities, qualities, and talents, by which he was more peculiarly distinguished. In stature he was much above the common standard. His person was well formed; his habit rather full than corpulent;(a) but his limbs, although elegantly shaped, appeared somewhat too slender in proportion to his

(a) Paris de Grassis, gives us, however, a singular picture of the pontiff whilst he performed divine service in hot weather. "Est enim crassus, et crasso corpore, ita "ut nunc semper in sudoribus sit, et nunquam aliud facit "inter rem divinam quam aliquo linteolo caput, faciem, "guttur, et manus sudore madentes abstergere." *Diar. inedit.*

his body. Although the size of his head, and the amplitude of his features, approached to an extreme, yet they exhibited a certain degree of dignity which commanded respect. His complexion was florid; his eyes were large, round, and prominent, even to a defect; insomuch, that he could not discern distant objects without the aid of a glass, by the assistance of which, it was observed, that in hunting and country sports, to which he was much addicted, he saw to a greater distance than any of his attendants.(a) His hands were peculiarly white and well formed, and he took great pleasure in decorating them with gems. His voice was remarkable for softness and flexibility, which enabled him to express his feelings with great effect. On serious and important occasions no one spoke with more gravity; on common concerns, with more facility; on jocular subjects, with more hilarity. From his early years he displayed a conciliating urbanity of manner, which seemed perfectly

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(a) "Admoto autem cristallo concavo, oculorum aciem "in venationibus et aucupiis adeo latè extendere solitus, ut "non modo spatiis et finibus, sed ipsa etiam discernendi "felicitate cunctos anteiret." *Jov. in vita Leon.* x.

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fectly natural to him, but which was probably not less the effect of education than of disposition; no pains having been spared in impressing on his mind the great advantage of those manners and accomplishments which soften animosity and attract esteem. On his first arrival at Rome, he soon obtained the favourable opinion of his fellow cardinals by his uncommon mildness, good temper, and affability, which led him to resist no one with violence, but rather to give way when opposed with any great degree of earnestness. With the old he could be serious, with the young, jocose; his visitors he entertained with great attention and kindness, frequently taking them by the hand and addressing them in affectionate terms, and on some occasions embracing them, as the manners of the times allowed. Hence all who knew him agreed, that he possessed the best possible dispositions, and believed themselves to be the objects of his particular friendship and regard; an opinion, which on his part, he endeavoured to promote, not only by the most sedulous and unremitting attention, but by frequent acts of generosity. Nor can it be doubted, that to his uniform perseverance in this conduct he was chiefly indebted

indebted for the high dignity which he attained so early in life.*(a)*

His intellectual endowments.

In his intellectual endowments Leo X. stood much above the common level of mankind. If he appears not to have been gifted with those creative powers, which are properly characterized by the name of genius, he may justly be said to have displayed the highest species of talent, and in general, to have regarded the times in which he lived and the objects which presented themselves to his notice, with a comprehensive and discriminating eye. His abilities have indeed been uniformly admitted, even by those who have in other respects been sparing in his praise.*(b)* That he was not affected by the superstitious notions so

(a) This account of Leo X. is chiefly obtained from the fragment of a Latin life of him by an anonymous author; which will be found, now first published from the original preserved in the archives of the Vatican, in the last number of the Appendix.

(b) "Principe, nel quale erano degne di laude e di "vituperio molte cose, e che ingannò assai l' espettatione "che quando fu assunto al pontificato s'aveva di lui; con- "ciosia ch' ei riuscisse di maggior prudenza, ma di molto "minore bontà di quello, ch' era giudicato da tutti." *Guicciard. lib.* 14.

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so prevalent in his own times, is itself a proof of a clear and vigorous mind.(a) The memory of Leo was remarkable; and as he read with great patience and perseverance, frequently interrupting and prolonging his meals by the pleasure which he took in this employment, so he obtained a very extensive acquaintance with the historical events of former times. In the regulation of his diet he adhered to the strictest rules of temperance, even beyond the usual restraints of the church.(b) Although not

(a) He ridiculed the folly of Paris de Grassis, who requested him to order prayers and processions to avert the evils which were foretold by inundations, by thunder, by the fall of a crucifix, or a consecrated wafer carried away by the wind. "There is nothing in all this," said the pope to his master of the ceremonies, "but what is perfectly natural. People believe that it indicates an invasion by the Turks, and I yesterday received letters from the emperor, informing me that the princes of Christendom have united to attack Constantinople, and drive the Turks from their dominions." *Par. de Grass. ap. Notices des MSS. du Roi. tom.* ii. *p.* 598.

(b) "Itemque animo vere pudico, die Mercurii carnes non edere, die autem Veneris nihil gustare, præter legumen et olera, ac die demum Saturni cœnâ penitus abstinere *incorrupta lege* instituisset." *Jov. in vita Leon.* x. *lib.* iv. *p.* 86.

not perhaps perfectly accomplished as a scholar, yet he was well versed in the Latin language, which he both spoke and wrote with elegance and facility, and had a competent knowledge of the Greek. Nor ought it greatly to diminish our opinion of him in this respect, that Bembo has thought proper to detract from his reputation for learning, when we consider that this ungenerous insinuation was intended merely to flatter the reigning pontiff, Paul III. at the expense of his more illustrious predecessor.*(a)* By Jovius we are informed that he wrote verses both in Italian and in Latin. The former have in all probability perished. Of the latter a single specimen only is known, which has already been submitted to the judgment of the reader.*(b)*

In

(a) In dedicating to Paul III. the official letters written in the name of Leo X. Bembo thus addresses his patron. "Eas autem ad te, Paulle, potissimum literas mitto, qui "et Pontifex Maximus es, ut Leo Decimus fuit, et in op- "timarum artium disciplinis multo quam ille habitus doc- "tior."

(b) v. Ante, vol. iv. *chap.* xxii. *p.* 279, and App. No. CCVI. Valeriano thus refers to the literary acquirements of the pontiff: "Leo X. Pont. Max. nullo non doctrinæ genere "institutus,

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His political conduct.

In his political character, the great objects which Leo appears to have generally pursued, sufficiently evince the capaciousness of his mind, and the just sense which he entertained of the important station in which he was placed. The pacification of Europe, the balancing of its opposing interests in such a manner as to insure its tranquillity, the liberation of the states of Italy from their dependence on foreign powers, the recovery of the ancient possessions of the church, and the repressing and humbling the power of the Turks, were some of those great purposes, which he appears never to have abandoned. On his elevation to the papal throne, he found the whole extent of Italy oppressed or threatened by foreign powers, and torn by internal commotions. The Spaniards were in possession of the kingdom of Naples; the French were preparing for the attack of Milan; and the states of Italy, in aiding or opposing the cause of these powerful intruders, were at constant war with each other. The first and most earnest desire

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" institutus, Græcis Latinisque literis optimè eruditus, acer-
" rimique judicii vir, et seu solutam orationem scriberet,
" seu carmen pangeret, laudem in utroque meritus." *De Literator. Infel. lib.* i. *p.* 19.

desire of the pontiff was to free the whole extent of Italy from its foreign invaders; an object not only excusable, but in the highest degree commendable. Whilst the extremities of that country were occupied by two powerful and ambitious monarchs, the one of them always jealous of the other, its interior could only become the theatre of war, and be subjected to continual exactions and depredations. The preponderating power of either the one or the other of these sovereigns might prove fatal to the liberties of the whole country; and at all events, the negotiations and intrigues to which they both had recourse, for supporting their respective interests among the inferior states, occasioned an agitation and ferment which kept it in continual alarm. In this situation, the accomplishment of the ends which the pontiff had proposed to himself, was the only mode by which he could reasonably hope to establish the public tranquillity; and if this be kept in view, it will enable us to explain, although it may not always excuse, many parts of his conduct, which may otherwise appear weak, contradictory, or unintelligible. To oppose himself to such adversaries by open arms was impossible; nor, whilst the same causes of dissension remained, was there the most distant prospect of forming an effective

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effective union among the Italian states; several of which had, by a weak and unfortunate policy, entered into close alliances with the invaders. Nothing therefore remained for the pontiff, but to turn the strength of these powerful rivals against each other, and to take advantage of any opportunity, which their dissensions might afford him, of liberating his country from them both. Hence it was his great object to secure, by incessant negotiations and constant assurances, the favour and good opinion of the French and Spanish monarchs; to be a party to all their transactions, and to enter into all their designs, so that he might be enabled to maintain a kind of equilibrium between them, and to give the preponderance on important occasions, either to the one or the other of them, as might best suit his own views. This policy was, however, at some times combined with more open efforts; and the inefficacy of the papal arms was supplied by powerful bodies of Swiss mercenaries, which the pope retained in his service by liberal stipends, and by whose assistance he twice expelled the French from Italy. Although frequently counteracted and defeated in his projects, by the superior strength and resources of his adversaries, yet he never appears, throughout his whole pontificate, to have

have deviated from the purposes which he had originally in view. His exertions had at length opened to him the fairest prospects of success; and it is highly probable, that if an untimely death had not terminated his efforts, he would finally have accomplished his great undertaking. That he had intended to retain the command of the Milanese, or to vest the supreme authority of that state in the cardinal Giulio de' Medici, may be regarded as certain;(a) and the union of these territories with those of Tuscany and of Rome, together with the continued aid of his Swiss allies, would have enabled him to attack the kingdom of Naples, then almost neglected by its young sovereign, with the fairest probability of success. In examining the public conduct of Leo X. by this test, it will be found to display a consistency not to be discovered by considering it in separate parts, or on detached occasions. His insincerity in his treaties with Francis I. although not justified, was occasioned by this unalterable adherence to his primitive designs; and the avidity of that monarch in depriving the pontiff of the districts of Parma and Piacenza, confirmed him in his resolution

(a) *Guicciard. lib.* xiv. *vol.* ii. *p.* 175.

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resolution to seize the first opportunities of carrying those designs into effect. The French monarch should have known, that even in the moment of victory, it is not always expedient to grasp at every possible advantage, or to subject a humiliated adversary to intolerable or irksome terms; and that as morality and good faith should enforce the execution, so justice and moderation should be the basis of public engagements.

Nor was Leo less uniform and consistent in his endeavours to allay the dissensions among the Christian powers, with the view of inducing them to unite their arms against the Turks; a course of conduct which has given occasion to charge him with extravagant and romantic views; but which cannot be fairly judged of without considering the state of the times, and recollecting that those powerful barbarians had then recently established themselves in Europe, had overturned in Egypt the empire of the Mamalukes, and made several attempts against the coast of Italy, in one of which they had possessed themselves of the city of Otranto. That the pontiff was defeated in his purpose, is not to be attributed to any want of exertion on his part, but to the jealousy of the Christian states, which were

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yet more fearful of each other than they were of the Turks. In aiming at great objects, it often, however, happens, that although the attempt be not wholly successful, some benefit is derived from it which is amply worth the labour; and if, in this instance, the pontiff could not inspire the rulers of Christendom with his own feelings, and actuate them with good-will towards each other, and with animosity only towards their common enemy, he yet succeeded so far as, in all probability, to deter the Turks from turning their arms against the western nations; so that during his pontificate the Christian world enjoyed a respite from commotion, which, when compared with the times which preceded and those which followed, may be considered as a season of tranquillity and of happiness. If amidst these splendid and commendable purposes, he occasionally displayed the narrow politics of a churchman, or the weaker prejudices of family partiality, this may perhaps be attributed, not so much to the errors of his own disposition and judgment, as to the example of his predecessors, and the manners of the age, which he could not wholly surmount; or to that mistaken sense of duty, which has too often led those in power to consider all measures as lawful, or as excusable, which are supposed

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to be advantageous to those whom they govern, or conducive to the aggrandizement of those, who, from the ties of nature, look up to them for patronage and for power.

In one respect, however, it is impossible, that the conduct of Leo X. as a temporal prince, can either be justified or extenuated. If a sovereign expects to meet with fidelity in his allies, or obedience in his subjects, he ought to consider his own engagements as sacred, and his promises as inviolable. In condescending to make use of treachery against his adversaries, he sets an example which shakes the foundations of his own authority, and endangers his own safety; and it is by no means improbable, that the untimely death of the pontiff was the consequence of an act of revenge. The same misconduct which probably shortened his days, has also been injurious to his fame;(a) and the certainty, that he on many occasions resorted to indirect and treacherous means to circumvent or destroy his

(a) To this circumstance the anonymous author of the life of Leo X. given in the appendix, attributes with great appearance of probability, the numerous lampoons which soon after the death of the pontiff were poured out against his memory.

his adversaries, has caused him to be accused of crimes which are not only unsupported by any positive evidence, but are in the highest degree improbable.(a) He has, however, sufficient to answer for in this respect, without being charged with conjectural offences.(b) Under CHAP. XXIV.

(a) Thus he has been accused of having poisoned Bendinello de' Sauli, one of the cardinals who conspired against him in the year 1517. *v. ante, chap.* xiv. *vol.* iii. *p.* 172, and yet more positively, although more preposterously, with having destroyed, by a similar act of treachery, the cardinal da Bibbiena, his early preceptor and great favourite, who was supposed to have aspired to the pontificate, and who died at Rome in the month of November, 1520. *Jovii Elogia, No.* lxv. *p.* 156. *Bandin. Il Bibbiena, p.* 49. Instead of attempting to vindicate the pontiff from these absurd and unfounded accusations, I shall lay before the reader the THRENI, or funeral verses on the death of Bibbiena, addressed by Pierio Valeriano to Leo X. *v. App. No. CCXVI.*

(b) Valerianus informs us, that immediately after the death of the pontiff, his conduct and character were attacked by the most scurrilous libels, and that it was even debated in the consistory, whether his name and acts should not be abolished from the records of the holy see. "Quod longè infelicius bono Principi fuit, ab obitu cum maledicentissimis omnium libellis infamatus esset, in Senatu toties de nomine, deque actis ejus abolendis per adversæ factionis hostes actitatum. Quod nulli antea Pontifici post obitum accidisse neque legimus, neque meminimus." *De Literator. infel. lib.* i. *p.* 21.

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Under the plea of freeing the territory of the church from the dominion of its usurpers, he became an usurper himself; and on the pretext of punishing the guilt of others, was himself guilty of great atrocities. If the example of the crimes of one could justify those of another, the world would soon become only a great theatre of treachery, of rapine, and of blood; and the human race would excel the brute creation only in the superior talents displayed in promoting their mutual destruction.

His ecclesiastical character.

In his ecclesiastical capacity, and as supreme head of the Christian church, Leo X. has been treated with great freedom and severity. Even the union of the temporal and spiritual power in the same person, has been represented as totally destructive of the true spirit of religion, and as productive of an extreme corruption of morals. "The ecclesiastical character," says a lively writer, "ought to have the ascendancy, and the temporal dignity should be considered only as "the accessary; but the former is almost "always absorbed in the latter. To unite "them together is to join a living body to a "dead carcase; a miserable connexion; in "which the dead serves only to corrupt the "living,

"living, without deriving from it any vital "influence."(a) The Lutheran writers have indeed considered this union of spiritual and temporal authority as an unequivocal sign of Antichrist;(b) yet it may be observed, that even after the reformation, the necessity of a supreme head in matters of religion, was soon acknowledged; and as this was too important a trust to be confided to a separate authority, it has in most protestant countries been united to the chief temporal power, and has thus formed that union of church and state, which is considered as so essentially necessary to the security of both. Hence, if we avoid the discussion of doctrinal tenets, we shall find, that all ecclesiastical establishments necessarily approximate towards each other; and that the chief difference to an individual is, merely whether he may choose to take his

 religious

(a) *Bayle. Dict. in art. Leon. X.*

(b) "Lutheri et protestantium sententiæ accedit; qui "insociabilia esse judicant, magnum orbis principatum et "vicarium Christi; immo conjunctionem utriusque potestatis, eosque tuendi iniquos mores, inter apertissima Antichristi signa dudum reputarunt." *Seckendorf, de Lutheran. lib.* i. *sec.* 5. *p.* 11.

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religious opinions on the authority of a pope, or of a monarch, from a consistory, or a convocation, from Luther, from Calvin, from Henry VIII. or from Leo X.

His supposed neglect of sacred literature.

But dismissing these general objections, which at all events apply rather to the office than to the personal conduct of the pope, we may still admit, that an evident distinction subsists between a great prince and a great pontiff, and that Leo, however he might possess the accomplishments of the one, may have been defective in those of the other. That this was in fact the case, is expressly asserted, or tacitly admitted, by writers in other respects of very different opinions. "Leo X. displayed," says Fra Paolo, "a singular proficiency in polite literature, wonderful humanity, benevolence and mildness; the greatest liberality, and an extreme inclination to favour excellent and learned men; insomuch, that for a long course of years, no one had sat on the pontifical throne that could in any degree be compared to him. He would, indeed, have been a perfect pontiff, if to these accomplishments he had united some knowledge in matters of religion, and a greater inclination

" inclination to piety, to neither of which he " appeared to pay any great attention."(a) These animadversions of Fra Paolo are thus adverted to by his opponent Pallavicini, who has entered very fully into the consideration of this part of the character of Leo X. " It " has been asserted by Paolo," says this writer, " that Leo was better acquainted with " profane literature, than with that called " sacred, and which appertains to religion; " in which I by no means contradict him. " Having received from God a most capacious " mind, and a studious disposition, and find- " ing himself, whilst yet almost in his in- " fancy, placed in the supreme senate of the " church, Leo was wanting in his duty, by " neglecting to cultivate that department of " literature, which is not only the most no- " ble, but was the most becoming his station. " This defect was more apparent, when being " constituted at thirty-seven years of age the " president and chief of the Christian reli- " gion, he not only continued to devote him- " self to the curiosity of profane studies, but " (B) even called into the sanctuary of religion " itself, those who were better acquainted " with

(a) *Fra Paolo, Conc. di Trent. lib.* i. *p.* 5.

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" with the fables of Greece and the delights " of poetry, than with the history of the " church and the doctrines of the fathers." * * " Nor will I affirm," says the same author, " that he was as much devoted to " piety as his station required, nor undertake " to commend, or to excuse all the conduct " of Leo X. because, to pass over that which " exists in suspicion, rather than in proof (as " scandal always delights to affix her spots on " the brightest characters, that their deformi- " ty may be the more apparent) it is certain, " that the attention which he paid to the " chase, to amusements, and to pompous ex- " hibitions, although it might in part be at- " tributed to the manners of the age, in part " to his high rank, and in part to his own na- " tural disposition, was no slight imperfec- " tion in one who had attained that eminence " among mankind which requires the utmost " degree of perfection."*(a)* But whilst the partisans of the reformers on the one hand, and the adherents of the Roman church on the other, have thus concurred in depreciating the character and conduct of the pontiff, they have been guided by very different motives. The

(a) Pallav. Conc. di Trento, lib. i. *cap.* ii. *p.* 51.

The former, with Luther at their head, have accused him of endeavouring, by the most rash and violent measures, to enforce that submission which ought at least to have been the result of a cool and temperate discussion; whilst the latter have represented him as too indifferent to the progress of the new opinions, and as having indulged himself in his own pursuits and amusements, whilst he ought to have extirpated, by the most efficacious methods, the dangerous heresy which at length defied his utmost exertions. To attempt the vindication of Leo against these very opposite charges would be superfluous. In their censure of him the zealous of both parties are agreed; but to the more moderate and dispassionate, it may appear to be some justification of his character to observe, that in steering through these tempestuous times, he was himself generally inclined to adopt a middle course; and that if he did not comply with the proposal of the reformers, and submit the questions between Luther and himself to the decision of a third party, neither did he adopt those violent measures, to which the church has occasionally resorted for the maintenance of its doctrines, and to which he was incited by some of the persecuting zealots of the

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the age.*(a)* To countenance the doctrines of the reformers was incompatible with his station and office; to have suppressed them by fire and sword, would justly have stigmatized him as a ferocious bigot; yet either of these extremes would certainly have procured him from one party, at least, that approbation which is now refused to him by both.

Nor has the concurring testimony of Fra Paolo, Pallavicini, and other polemical writers, been uniformly assented to as a sufficient proof of that gross neglect of sacred literature imputed to Leo X.*(b)* Of the encouragement afforded by him to many learned ecclesiastics, who devoted themselves to the study of the sacred writings, several instances have before been given, to which, if necessary, considerable

(a) "Più oppositamente di tutti scrisse contra Martino "Luthero Frate Giacomo Ogostrato (Hoogstraaten) Do- "minicano Inquisitore; il quale esortò il pontefice a convin- "cer Martino con ferro, fuoco, e fiamme." *Concil. di Trento, p.* 8.

(b) "Minime autem dubitabis illos mendacii insimu- "lare, qui ab eo divinas disciplinas, præ humanioribus, "negligentius cultas honoratasque fuisse affirmant." *Fabron. Vita Leon.* x. *p.* 183.

considerable additions might yet be made.(a) On this subject we might also appeal with great confidence to the evidence of a contemporary writer, who assures us that "Leo X. "diligently sought out those men who had "signalized themselves in any department of "knowledge, moral or natural, human or di-"vine; and particularly in that chief science "which is called *Theology*; that he reward-"ed them with honourable stipends, con-"formed himself in his conduct to their sug-"gestions, and treated them with the same "kindness and affection that he experi-"enced from them in return." The same author adds, that the most celebrated philosophers and professors of the civil law were also invited by Leo X. from all parts of Italy and France to Rome; "for the purpose," says he, "of rendering that city, which had "already obtained the precedency in religion, "in dignity, and in opulence, not less cele-"brated as the seat of eloquence, of wisdom, "and of virtue."(b)

But

(a) *v.* particularly chap. xi. *passim.*

(b) *Brandolini*, Leo, *p.* 127.

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But perhaps the most decisive proof of the partiality with which Leo regarded real knowledge and useful learning, may be found in the particular attention shewn by him, on all occasions, to the moderate, the candid, and truly learned Erasmus. Between him and the pontiff an epistolary intercourse occasionally subsisted, which, notwithstanding the opinions of the religious zealots of opposing sects, who have condemned the condescension of the one, and the commendatory style of the other, confers equal honour on both. Before the elevation of Leo to the pontifical chair, they had met together at Rome, and had formed a friendly intimacy. When the character of Leo as supreme pontiff, had in some degree unfolded itself, and he appeared as the pacificator of the Christian world, and the promoter of liberal studies, Erasmus addressed to him, from London, a long and congratulatory epistle, which may be considered as a compendium of the previous life and conduct of the pontiff. After adverting to the extraordinary circumstances which prepared the way to his elevation, he compares the pontificate of Leo with that of Julius II. and expatiates at large on the happy effects of his measures, when contrasted with the warlike pursuits of his restless predecessor. He then alludes to the

the recent humiliation of Louis XII. and to the ascendancy which Leo had obtained, as well over that monarch, as over Henry VIII. Thence he takes occasion to refer to the earnest efforts then making by the pontiff for the union of the princes of Christendom against the Turks; without, however, approving of violent and sanguinary measures, which he considers as inconsistent with the character and conduct of christians, who ought to set an example of benevolence, forbearance, and piety, and subdue the world by these virtues rather than by fire and sword. But the chief object of his letter is to request the favour of the pontiff towards a new and corrected edition of the works of S. Jerom, which he had then undertaken at the instance of William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, and which was soon afterwards published, with a dedication to that munificent prelate.(a) To this address Leo returned a highly satisfactory reply, in which he recognises his former acquaintance with Erasmus; expresses his most earnest wishes that the Author of all good, by whose providence he has himself been placed in so elevated a station, may enable

(a) *Erasmi Epist. lib.* ii. *Ep.* i. *Ed. Lond.* 1642.

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enable him to adopt the most efficacious measures for the restoration of true virtue and piety among mankind; and assures Erasmus, that he expects with joyful impatience, the volumes of S. Jerom and of the New Testament, which he had promised to transmit to him.(a) At the same time he wrote to Henry VIII. recommending Erasmus to him in the warmest terms, as deserving not only of his pecuniary bounty, but of his particular favour and regard.(b) The edition of the New Testament in Greek and Latin, with the corrections and annotations of Erasmus, made its appearance soon afterwards, accompanied with a dedication to Leo X. to whom Erasmus also addressed a letter, expressing his grateful acknowledgments for the recommendation of him to Henry VIII. which had been the result of the kindness and favourable opinion of the pontiff, without his own solicitation.(c) At a subsequent period, when this eminent scholar had incurred the suspicion of being secretly attached to the cause of the

(a) *Erasm. Epist. lib.* ii. *Ep.* 4.

(b) *Ibid. Ep.* 5.

(c) *Ibid. Ep.* 6.

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the reformers, he again addressed himself to Leo X. as well as to some of the cardinals of his court, vindicating, in a respectful, but manly style, the moderation of his own conduct; at the same time lamenting, that the advocates of the church had resorted to violence and scurrility for the defence of their cause, and that the pope had, by the intemperance of others, been prevented from attending sufficiently to the mild and liberal suggestions of his own disposition.*(a)* In the course of his correspondence, Erasmus has celebrated the pontiff for three great benefits bestowed upon mankind; the restoration of Christian piety, the revival of letters, and the establishment of peace throughout Christendom.*(b)* The attention paid by Leo to the graver studies of theology, jurisprudence, philosophy, and medicine, is also admitted by Erasmus; who solicits the pontiff to patronise

(a) Erasm. Epist. lib. xiv. *Ep.* i. 5.

(b) "Tria quædam præcipua generis humani bona, "restitutum iri videam; Pietatem illam vere Christianam "multis modis collapsam; Optimas literas, partim neg-"lectas hactenus, partim corruptas; et publicam ac per-"petuam orbis Christiani concordiam, pietatis et eruditionis "fontem parentemque." *Erasm. Epist. lib.* i. *Ep.* 30.

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tronise the study of languages and elegant literature, merely that they may be of use in promoting the knowledge of those more important subjects, to which he has already referred.(a)

Charges of profligacy and irreligion.

Were we to place implicit confidence in the opinions of many authors, who have taken occasion to refer to the character of Leo X. we must unavoidably suppose him to have been one of the most dissolute, irreligious, profane, and unprincipled of mankind. By one writer we are told that Leo led a life little suited to one of the successors of the apostles, and entirely devoted to voluptuousness;(b) another has not scrupled to insert the name of this pontiff in a list which he has formed of the

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(a) "Ita fiet ut graviores illæ, quas vocant facultates, "*Theologia*, *Jurisprudentia*, *Philosophia*, *Medicina*, harum "literarum accessione, non mediocriter adjuventur. Sine "ut hoc quoque beneficium debeant bonæ literæ, quæ jam "Beatitudini tuæ nihil non debent, quam in multam æta- "tem religioni suæ instaurandæ propagandæque tueatur "Christus Opt. Max." *Erasm. Ep. lib.* xi. *Ep.* 9.

(b) "Il mena une vie peu convenable aux successeurs "des Apôtres, et tout-a-fait voluptueuse." *Bayle, Dict. Art. Leon.* x.

the supposed atheists of the time.(a) John Bale, in his satirical work, entitled, *The Pageant of Popes*, in which, in his animosity against the church of Rome, he professes it to be his intention to *give her double according to her works*, has informed us, that when Bembo quoted to Leo X. on some occasion, a passage from one of the evangelists, the pope replied, *It is well known to all ages how profitable this fable of Christ has been to us*;(b) a story,

(a) *Mosheim. ap. Jortin, Remarks on Ecclesiast. Hist. vol. v. p.* 500.

(b) "On a time when cardinall Bembus did move a "question out of the gospell, the pope gave him a very "contemptuose answere, saying: *All ages can testifye* "*enough how profitable that fable of Christe hath ben to us* "*and our companie.*" *Bale's Pageant of Popes, p.* 179. *Ed.* 1574.

Of the candour and accuracy of this zealous friend to the reformed religion, the following passage affords an ample specimen:

"This Leo did enrich above measure his *bastardes* and "cosins, advauncing them to dignityes both spirituall and "temporall, with robbing and undoing other. For he "made *Julianus* his sister's son duke of *Mutinensis*, and "*Laurentianus* duke of *Urbin*; marryinge the one to the "sister of *Charles* duke of *Savoye*, and the other to the "*duchess of Poland*," *&c. Bale*, 180.

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story, which it has justly been remarked, has been repeated by three or four hundred different writers, without any authority whatsoever, except that of the author above referred to.(a) Another anecdote of a similar nature is found in a Swiss writer; who, as a proof of the impiety and atheism of the pontiff, relates, that he directed two of the buffoons whom he admitted to his table, to take upon them the characters of philosophers, and to discuss the question respecting the immortality of th soul; when, after having heard the arguments on both sides, he gave his decision by observing, that *he who had maintained the affirmative of the question, had given excellent reasons for his opinion, but that the arguments of his adversary were very plausible.* This story rests only on the authority of Luther, who on such an occasion

(a) "*Quantum nobis nostrisque ea de Christo fabula profuerit satis est omnibus seculis notum.* On voit ce conte dans *le Mystere d' iniquité*, et dans une infinité d'autres livres sans être muni de citation, ou n'aient pour toute preuve que l' autorité de Baleus; de sorte que trois ou quatre cens auteurs, plus ou moins, qui ont debité cela en se copiant les uns les autres doivent être reduits a un seul temoin, qui est Baleus, temoin manifestement recusable, puisqu' il ecrivoit en guerre ouverte contre le Pape, et contre toute l'eglise Romaine." *Bayle, in art. Leon.* x.

casion can scarcely be admitted as a sufficient evidence.*(a)* We are told by another protestant author, that at the time "when Leo was "thundering out his anathemas against Luther, he was not ashamed to publish a bull "in favour of the profane poems of Ariosto; "menacing with excommunication all those "who criticised them, or deprived the author "of his emolument,"*(b)* a circumstance which has been adduced by innumerable writers, and even by the dispassionate Bayle,*(c)* as an additional

(a) "Leonis X. Papæ dictum refert (Lutherus) qui "audita disputatione in qua unus immortalitatem animæ "defendebat, alter oppugnabat, dixerit; *tu quidem vera* "*videris dicere, sed adversarii tui oratio facit bonum vul-* "*tum.*" *ap. Seck. lib.* iii. *p.* 676. It is observable, that in the satirical *Vie de Cath. de Medicis. vol.* i. *p.* 13, this story is related of Clement VII.

(b) "Presque au même tems qu'il foudroya ses anathe- "mas contre Martin Luther, il n'eut point de honte de "publier une bulle en faveur des poësies profanes de Louys "Arioste, menaçant d'excommunication ceux qui le blame- "roient, ou empecheroient le profit de l'imprimeur." *David Blondel. ap. Bayle. art. Leon.* x.

(c) "Etoit ce garder le *decorum* de la Papauté, que "d'expedier une bulle si favorable aux pöesies d'Arioste?" *Bayle, Dict. art. Leon* x. Other authors have asserted, that Leo actually excommunicated all those who should dare to

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ditional proof of the impiety of the pontiff, and of the disgraceful manner in which he abused his ecclesiastical authority. But in answer to this, it may be sufficient to observe, that the privilege to Ariosto was granted long before Luther had signalized himself by his opposition to the Romish church, and that such privilege is in fact nothing more than the usual protection granted to authors, to secure to them the profits of their works. That it contains any denunciations against those who censure the writings of Ariosto, is an assertion wholly groundless; the clause of excommunication extending only to those who should surreptitiously print and sell the work without the consent of the author;(a) a clause which

to criticise the writings of Ariosto. "Leon x. fit publier "une bulle, par laquelle il excommunioit tous ceux qui "oseroient entreprendre de critiquer ce poëme d'Arioste, ou "d'en empêcher la vente." *Richardson sur la Peinture. tom.* iii. *p.* 435. "Leo, whilst he was pouring the thun- "der of his anathemas against the heretical doctrines of "Martin Luther, published a bull of excommunication "against all those who should dare to censure the poems "of Ariosto." *Warton's History of English Poetry. vol.* ii. *p.* 411.

(a) There are two copies of this bull extant, which agree in substance, but I have preferred that which was published

which is found in all licenses of the same nature, frequently much more strongly expressed; and which was intended to repress, beyond the limits of the papal territories, those literary pirates, who have at all times since the invention of printing, been ready to convert the industry of others to their own emolument.

Aspersions on his moral character.

Nor has the moral character of Leo X. wholly escaped those disgraceful imputations, which affix a stain of all others the most readily made, and the most difficult to expunge. These accusations are noticed by Jovius, who, at the same time, justly asks, whether it was likely, that amidst the abuse and detraction which then characterized the Roman court, the best and most blameless prince could have escaped the shafts of malice? or whether it was probable that they who levelled these malignant imputations against the pontiff, had an opportunity of ascertaining their truth?

published in the first edition of the *Orlando Furioso. Ferrara*, 1516, and republished in the appendix to the *Pontifical Letters of Sadoleti, p.* 193. The other copy may be found in the *Pontifical Letters of Bembo, lib.* x. *ep.* 40. *v. App. No. CCXVII.*

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truth?(a) To these remarks he might safely have trusted the vindication of Leo, without indecently and absurdly attempting to extenuate the alleged offence of the pontiff, as a matter of slight importance in a great prince.(b) With respect to the moral conduct of Leo X. in private life, the most satisfactory evidence remains, that he exhibited, not only in his early years, but after his elevation to the pontificate, an example of chastity and decorum, the more remarkable, as it was the more unusual in

(a) "Non caruit etiam infamia, quod parum honeste "nonnullos e cubiculariis (erant enim e tota Italia nobilis- "simi) adamare, et cum his teneriùs atque libere jocari "videretur. Sed quis, vel optimus atque sanctissimus "princeps in hac maledicentissima aula lividorum aculeos "vitavit? Et quis ex adverso tam maligne improbus ac "invidiæ tabe consumptus, ut vera demum posset objec- "tare, noctium secreta scrutatus est?" *Jov. in vita Leon. x. lib.* iv. *p.* 86.

(b) Sed alia principis, alia hominis esse vitia quis nescit? Hæc uni privata conditione quum noceant, etiam aliquibus fortasse prosunt; illa vera ab dira potestate, et luctum et calamitatem universis mortalibus apportant; idque verissimum esse, constat præclaro quondam populi Romani testimonio, qui neminem sibi principem Trajano meliorem exoptavit, quamquam eum illicitæ libidinis ac ebrietatis censura notasset. *Jov. ut sup.*

in the age in which he lived.(a) Nor can it be supposed, that so many writers would, in commending the pontiff for virtues which he was known, or suspected, not to possess, have incurred the double risk of degrading their own characters in the eye of the world, and giving the pontiff reason to suppose that they had

(a) Andrea Fulvio, a contemporary author, alluding to the life of Leo X. says,

Quid referam castos vitæ sine crimine mores?

And another writer of the same period, dwells yet more expressly on the acknowledged, and even *unsuspected* chastity of the pontiff, as the chief of his virtues: "Equidem "cum multa et maxima et admiratione summa dignissima "libenter commemorarim et meminerim, super omnia ta- "men est ceteris eximiis virtutibus continentiæ incredibilis "adjecta vis, quæ adeo circumfusas undique sensibus vo- "luptates perdomuit, perfregitque, ut non *extra libidinem* "*modo*, sed et quod raro ulli contigit *extra famam libidinis*, "tam in pontificatu, quam in omni anteacta vita se conser- "varit, jugiterque conservet." *Math. Herculanus. ap. Fabron. vita Leon. X. in adnot.* 84. Even the adversaries of Leo, in taxing him with too great an attention to jesters and buffoons, tacitly acquit him of those vices with which they freely charge his predecessors.

"Sixtum *Lenones*, Julium rexere *Cinœdi*,
"Imperium vani *Scurra* Leonis habet."

H. Stephens, Apol. pour Herodote, p. 554.

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had ironically or impertinently alluded to so dangerous a subject.

His relaxations and amusements,

But whilst we reject these unfounded and scandalous imputations, it must be allowed that the occupations and amusements in which the pontiff indulged himself, were not always suited either to the dignity of his station, or to the gravity of his own character. "It seems to have been his intention," says one of his biographers, "to pass his time "cheerfully, and to secure himself against "trouble and anxiety by all the means in his "power. He, therefore, sought all opportu- "nities of pleasure and hilarity, and indulged "his leisure in amusement, jests, and sing- "ing; either induced by a natural propensity, "or from an idea that the avoiding vexation "and care might contribute to lengthen his "days."(a) On some occasions, and particularly on the first day of August in every year, he was accustomed to invite such of the cardinals as were admitted to his more intimate acquaintance, to play cards with him; and of this opportunity he always availed himself to display his liberality, by distributing pieces of gold among the crowd of spectators, whom he

(a) *Vita Leon. x. ab. Anon. in App. No. CCXVIII.*

he allowed to be present at these entertainments.(a) In the game of chess he was a thorough proficient, and could conduct its most difficult operations with the utmost promptitude and success;(b) but gaming with dice he always reproved, as equally inconsistent with prudence and injurious to morals.(c)

His knowledge of music was not only practical but scientific. He had himself a correct ear and a melodious voice, which had been cultivated in his youth with great attention. On the subject of harmony, and the principles of musical notation, he delighted to converse, and had a musical instrument in his chamber, by the assistance of which he was accustomed to exemplify and explain his favourite theory.(d) Nor were the professors of music less favoured by him than those who excelled

(a) *Jovii Vita Leon.* x. *lib.* iv. *p.* 86.

(b) "Nostro Signore sta la maggior parte del dì, in la "stanza sua, ad giocare ad scacchi, ed udire sonare, e aspectando alla giornata quello si farà, dì per dì, per quelle "feste." *Lett. inedit. di Balt. da Pescia. MSS. Flor.*

(c) *Jovii vita Leon.* x. *lib.* iv. *p.* 86.

(d) *Fabron. vita Leon.* x. *p.* 206.

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excelled in other liberal arts. To the cultivation and encouragement of this study, he was more particularly led by the consideration of its essential importance to the due celebration of the splendid rites of the Romish church.(a) In the magnificence of his preparations, the propriety of his own person and dress, and the solemnity and decorum of his manner on these occasions, he greatly excelled all his predecessors.(b) In order to give

(a) "Ipsa laxamenta curarum honesta; non enim vel "consilium, vel ingenium, vel ætas, vel Pontificalium opum "affluentia in obscœna solatia, turpesque voluptates, vel qui "desidiam sequuntur lusus, sublimem animum dejecerunt, "aut in delicias detorquent; sed rerum molibus interdum "subductum nunc variarum vocum suavissima modulatio, "nunc sonorum armonia excepit; non mollibus illis, im-"pudicisque condita modis, quibus olim theatra, scenæ, "fora perstrepebant, sed quibus Dei laudes canimus, qui-"busque sacrorum cæremonias honoramus." *Matt. Herculan. Encom. Leon. X. ap. Fabron. in adnot.* 84.

(b) "Non però si vogliono tralasciare il gran decoro, "e la maestà, con cui esercitò sempre le sacre funzioni, "sopra tutti gli antecessori," &c. *Pallavicini, Conc. di Trento, lib.* i. *cap.* ii. *p.* 51. That he did not allow his ostentation to interfere with his devotion, appears from a passage in Par. de Grassis. "Vespera in Vigilia Corporis "Christi, papa fuit semper nudo capite, in processione "portans sacramentum. Et hoc fecit ex devotione; licet "majore

give a more striking effect to these devotional services, he sought throughout all Europe for the most celebrated musical performers, both vocal and instrumental, whom he rewarded with the utmost liberality. As a proof of the high estimation in which these professors were held by him, he conferred on Gabriel Merino, a Spaniard, whose chief merit consisted in the excellence of his voice and his knowledge of church music, the archbishopric of Bari.(a) Another person, named Francesco Paolosa, he promoted, for similar qualifications, to the rank of an archdeacon;(b) and the pontifical letters

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" majore cum majestate fuisset cum mitra." *Diar. inedit.* Leo did not, however, approve of long sermons. In the year 1514, he ordered his master of the palace, on pain of excommunication, to see that the sermon did not exceed half an hour; and in the month of November, 1517, being wearied with a long discourse, he directed his master of the ceremonies to remind the master of the palace, that the council of the Lateran had decided, that a sermon should not exceed a quarter of an hour, at the most. In consequence of these remonstrances, there was no sermon on the first day of the year 1518; the master of the palace being fearful that the preacher would exceed the prescribed limits. *P. de Grass. Diar. ap. Notices des MSS. du Roi*, ii. 598.

(a) *Fabron. vita Leon.* x. *p.* 205.

(b) *Ibid. p.* 207.

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letters of Bembo exhibit various instances of the particular attention paid by him to this subject.(a)

That

(a) Pietro Aaron, a Florentine of the order of Jerusalem, and canon of Rimini, a voluminous writer on the science of music, in the dedication of his treatise entitled, "*Toscanello della Musica*," the most considerable of all his writings, printed at Venice, 1523, informs us, that he had been admitted into the papal chapel at Rome, during the pontificate of Leo X. in speaking of whom he says, "though this pontiff had acquired a consummate "knowledge in most arts and sciences, he seemed to love, "encourage, and exalt music more than any other; which "stimulated many to exert themselves with uncommon ar- "dour in its cultivation. And among those who aspired at "the great premiums that were held forth to talents, I be- "came," says he, "a candidate myself; for being born "to a slender fortune, which I wished to improve by some "reputable profession, I chose music; at which I laboured "with unremitting diligence till the irreparable loss I "sustained by the death of my munificent patron, Leo." *Dr. Burney's Hist. of Music, vol.* iii. *p.* 154.

The pope is said to have diverted himself with the folly and absurdity of Evangelista Tarasconi of Parma, whom he prevailed on to write a treatise on music, full of the most absurd precepts, advising, among other things, that the arms of the performers should be tied up in a particular manner, so as to give greater strength to their fingers, &c. *Jovius, in vita Leon.* x. *lib.* iv. *p.* 84. But the learned

Padre

That a mind, which, like that of the pontiff, could discriminate all the excellences of literature and of art, could, as we are told was the fact, also stoop to derive its pleasures from the lowest species of buffoonery, is a singular circumstance, but may serve to mark that diversity and range of intellect which distinguished not only Leo X. but also other individuals of this extraordinary family.*(a)* To such an extreme was this propensity carried, that his courtiers and attendants could not more effectually obtain his favour, than by introducing to him such persons as by their eccentricity, perversity, or imbecility of mind, were

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Padre Ireneo Affò, thinks that Jovius has caricatured his picture too highly. Tarasconi was a man of considerable learning, and among others, left a work entitled, *Historia Calamitatum Italiæ, tempore Julii II.* which has not, however, been printed, and is now probably lost. *v. Affò, Memorie degli Scrittori Parmigiani, vol.* iii. *p.* 230.

(a) This peculiarity in the character of the pontiff was discovered even by the licentious Pietro Aretino, who otherwise would not have experienced his bounty. "Certamente Leone ebbe una natura da stremo a stremo, e non saria opra d' ognuno il giudicare chi più gli dilettasse, o la virtù de' dotti, o le ciancie de' buffoni; e di ciò fa fede il suo aver dato all' una e all' altra specie, esaltando tanto questi, quanto quegli." *Fabr, in adnot.* 85.

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were likely to excite his mirth.(a) On one occasion this well-known disposition of the pontiff, is said to have subjected him to an unexpected intrusion. A person having waited in vain for several days, in the hope of speaking to him, addressed himself at length to the chamberlain, assuring him that he was a great poet and would astonish the pope by the most admirable verses he had ever heard; a stratagem which procured him immediate admission, although to the chagrin and disappointment of the pontiff.(b) That Leo could bear à jest

(a) Of the society that occasionally frequented the pontifical table, some idea may be formed from the following passage. "Habet iste bonus pontifex apud se lurconem "quendam edacem, et mendicum fratrem, nomine patrem "Martinum et Marianum, qui pullum columbarium, sive "assum, sive elissum, bolo uno sorbitione unica glutit, "ova, ut ferunt, qui viderunt, absorbet quadringenta; "viginti quoque devorat capos," &c. *Tilius. ap. Fabron. adnot.* 82.

(b) *Jan. Nycii Erythræi Pinacotheca.* ii. 110. If Leo was disappointed on this occasion, he might have consoled himself on another, in which one who had been thought a very sage personage, and whom he had honoured with the name of his *poet*, turned out, (by no uncommon metamorphosis) to be a mighty great fool. "In die et festo sanc-"torum Cosmæ et Damiani, hæc missa fuit habita cum "vesperis, more solito; et papa creavit unum Poetam, "quem

a jest with a good grace, is, however, evinced by another incident: a person having presented him with some Latin verses in hopes of a great reward, the pope, instead of gratifying his expectation, repeated to him an equal number of lines with the same terminations; whereupon the disappointed poet exclaimed,

Si tibi pro numeris numeros fortuna dedisset,
Non esset capiti tanta corona tuo.

Had fortune your verses with verses repaid,
The tiara would ne'er have encircled your head:

and the pope, instead of being offended, opened his purse, and rewarded him with his usual liberality.(a)

There is reason to believe that the pleasure which Leo X. derived from the sumptuous entertainments so frequently given within the precincts

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" quem curia semper prudentem opinata est, et tunc cog-
" novit eum *stultum et fatuum.*" *P. de Grass. Diar. inedit.* This probably alludes to the story of Baraballo. *v. ante, chap.* xvii.

(a) *Histoire des Papes, tom.* iv. *p.* 418. *Ed. La Haye,* 1733, 4*to.*

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precincts of the Roman court, arose not so much from the gratification of his own appetite, in the indulgence of which he was very temperate,(a) as from the delight which he took in ridiculing the insatiable gluttony of his companions.(b) Dishes of an uncommon kind, or composed of animals not usually considered as food, but so seasoned as to attract the avidity of his guests, were occasionally introduced, and by the discovery of the fraud, gave rise to jocular recrimination, and additional mirth.(c) It is not however improbable

(a) Even when he celebrated the anniversary of his election, with the cardinals, in the Vatican, he set an example of sobriety in his own person, as appears from Par. de Grassis. "Anniversarium electionis Papæ Leonis, "Papa in fine fecit prandium cardinalibus, ut alias. Ipse "quotidie jejunat et sero cœnat." *Diar. inedit.*

(b) "Verum festivissimis eorum facetiis, salibusque et "perurbanis scommatibus magis quam ullis palati lenociniis "oblectabatur." *Jov. vita Leon.* x. *lib.* iv. *p.* 85.

(c) "Multa enim eorum palato ac aviditati aliena ci-"baria, falsa gratissimarum rerum specie concinnata, uti "simias et corvos cœnantibus apponebat, quæ tametsi ju-"cunda omnibus, ac urbano nobilique principe digna erant, "in eo tamen qui Augusti Pontificis dignitatem sustineret, "a severis et tristibus notabantur." *Jov. vita Leon. lib.* iv. *p.* 85.

bable that these accounts have been either invented, or exaggerated, by the fertile imagination of the narrator; and it is certain that they are greatly at variance with others, which are entitled at least to equal credit. The severe rules of abstinence which the pope constantly imposed upon himself, and the attention to his studies, even during his meals, which has before been noticed, are circumstances not easily to be reconciled to the riot and dissipation, which he is supposed to have so indecorously encouraged. To these may be added the evidence of a contemporary writer, who appears to have been one of his guests, and to have formed an opinion very different from that of Jovius, as to the conduct of the pontiff on these occasions. "Such was the "attention of Leo X. to improvement," says this writer, "that he would not allow even "the time of his meals to elapse without some "degree of utility to his guests. Nor could "all the splendour of the table, and the ap- "paratus of the feast, engage our attention, "or prevent our entering into conversation, "not indeed on light and trifling topics, but "on the most sacred and interesting subjects, "and such as in their discussion required the "greatest

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"greatest erudition, and the most perspica-
"cious mind."*(a)*

When Leo occasionally retired from the tumults of the city to his villa of Malliana, about five miles from Rome, he dedicated a considerable portion of his time to the amusements of fowling and hunting, in which he engaged with such earnestness, as to disregard all the inclemencies of weather, and the inconveniences arising from want of accommodation. To these active exercises, he was most probably led to accustom himself, from an idea that they were conducive to his health.*(b)* Having from his youth been devoted

(a) "Tanto studio tenebatur, ut ne ipsum quidem "epularum tempus sine nostra utilitate prætervolare sinat, "quod non auro argentove refertis abacis, non pretiosa su- "pellectile exquisitis ingeniis apparatus, ferculorum admi- "ratos defixosque nos tenet, sed cum convivis et circum- "stantibus lepide comiterque habitis sermonibus, non de "inani levique materia, sed de Deo, natura, sacris, jure, "legibus, vita, moribus, aliorum gestis, cæterisque rebus, "quæ summæ eruditionis, ac perspicacis ingenii dignæ visæ "fuerint." *Matt. Herculan. ap. Fabron. in adnot.* 83.

(b) A contemporary author informs us, that the pontiff was not induced to pursue these amusements so much for the pleasures of the chase, as for the purpose of invigorating

voted to these sports, he was well skilled in conducting them; and was highly offended with any of his companions, whatever their rank might be, who through ignorance or carelessness spoiled the expected diversion.(a) An unsuccessful chase seemed to be one of

rating both his body and mind for the due performance of his more important occupations. "Interdum etiam Venan-" di studium in lustra saltusque abducit, non tam quidem " ut feras conficiat, quam ut inde postmodum corporis simul " et animi agitatione, quasi renovatis viribus, vegetior acri-" orque in pontificatûs gravissimas curas relabatur, sed et " interdum, ne quo unquam temporis momento a mortalium " commodis animum avocasse putes, vicinas urbes ingredi-" tur, oppida intervisit, et gentium desideriis occurrit, et " si ægri aliquid in iis sit curationem adhibet." *Matt. Herculan. ap. Fabron. in adnot.* 84. Reasons of nearly a similar nature are alleged by the pontiff himself, in justification of his frequent use of those active diversions, as appears from a papal brief addressed by him to Giovanni Neroni, in which he appoints him *Pontifical Gamekeeper*, and directs him in what manner he is to execute this important trust. *Bembi Ep. Pont. lib.* x. *Ep.* 1.

(a) His master of the ceremonies, Paris de Grassis, was highly scandalized at the profane habiliments in which the pontiff took the field. "Die martis x. Januarii, facto " prandio, Papa recessit ex urbe profecturus ad Tuschanel-" lam, et alia loca ibi vicina. Et fuit cum stola, sed pejus " sine rochetto, et quod pessimum cum stivalibus, sive " ocreis, in pedes munitus." *Diar. inedit.*

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the heaviest misfortunes; whilst those who were hunting for the pontifical favour, rather than the beasts of the field, always found that it was the best time to obtain it, when the exertions of the pontiff had been crowned with success.(a) Towards the decline of the year, when the heat of the season began to be mitigated by the rains, he visited the warm baths of Viterbo, the vicinity of which abounded with partridges, quails, and pheasants, and where he frequently took the diversion of hawking. Thence he passed to the beautiful lake of Bolsena, where he spent his time in fishing on the island in the midst of the lake, or at the entrance of the river Marta. In this neighbourhood he was always splendidly entertained by the cardinal Alessandro Farnese, afterwards Paul III. who had erected there superb villas and palaces, and by extensive plantations of fruit and forest trees, had ornamented and enriched the surrounding country. After quitting these confines, he usually pursued his journey along the Tuscan territories, until he arrived at the shore of the sea, near Civita Vecchia. Here an entertainment of the most acceptable kind was provided for him.

(a) *Jovii, vita Leon.* x. *lib.* iv. *p.* 88.

him. In a large plain, surrounded with hills, like an amphitheatre, and overspread with underwood for covert, a great number of wild boars and deer were collected, and the Roman pontiff, forgetful of both church and state, enjoyed the pleasures of the chase in their highest perfection. From Civita Vecchia he returned about the month of November, by Palo and the forest of Cervetri, to Rome; which, however, he soon quitted for his villa at Malliana; a place with which he was so delighted, notwithstanding the insalubrity of the air, occasioned by the exhalations of the surrounding fens, that it was with difficulty he could be prevailed on to return to the city, unless a meeting of the consistory or some important occasion required his presence. His arrival at Malliana was welcomed by the peasantry, with no less joy than the appearance of an abundant harvest. His bounty was showered down alike on the old and the young, who surrounded him on the road to present to him their rustic offerings. But not satisfied with indiscriminate generosity, he frequently entered into conversation with them, inquired into their wants, paid the debts of the aged, unfortunate, or infirm; bestowed marriage portions upon the damsels, and assisted those who had to provide for a

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numerous family; there being, in his opinion, nothing so becoming a great prince, as to alleviate distress, and to send away every person satisfied and cheerful from his presence.*(a)*

Encouragement of letters and arts.

After all, however, it must be confessed, that the claims of Leo X. to the applause and gratitude of after times, are chiefly to be sought for in the munificent encouragement afforded by him to every department of polite literature and of elegant art. It is this great characteristic, which amidst two hundred and fifty successive pontiffs, who, during the long space of nearly twenty centuries, have occupied the most eminent station in the Christian world, has distinguished him above all the rest, and given him a reputation, which notwithstanding the diversity of political, religious, and even literary opinions, has been acknowledged in all civilized countries, and by every succeeding age.*(b)* It is true, some modern authors have endeavoured to throw doubts even upon this subject, and have indirectly

(a) Jovii, vita Leon. x. *lib.* iv. *p.* 88, 89.

(b) "Quantum Romani Pontificis fastigium inter reliquos mortales eminet, tantum *Leo* inter Romanos pontifices excellit," says Erasmus, *lib.* i. *Ep.* 30.

rectly questioned, or boldly denied the superiority of his pretensions as a patron of letters, to those of the other sovereigns of the age. "It is well known," says one of these writers, "what censure attaches to the character of "Leo X. for having favoured and rewarded "musicians and poets, in preference to theologians and professors of the law; whilst "the glory of having revived and promoted "the studies of polite literature, is to be attributed rather to the pontiffs, his predecessors, and to his own ancestors, than either to himself or to his cousin Clement "VII."(a) "I observe," says another eminent literary historian, "that these times "are generally distinguished as THE AGE OF "LEO THE TENTH; but I cannot perceive "why the Italians have agreed to restrict "to the court of this pontiff, that literary "glory which was common to all Italy." "It is not my intention," adds he, "to detract a single particle from the praises due "to Leo X. for the services rendered by him "to

(a) *Denina, Revoluzione d' Italia, lib.* xxi. *cap.* 12. *nel fine.*

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" to the cause of literature. I shall only re-
" mark, that the greater part of the Italian
" princes of this period might with equal
" right pretend to the same honour; so that
" there is no particular reason for conferring
" on Leo the superiority over all the rest."(a)
After the pages which have been already devoted to enumerate the services rendered by Leo X. to all liberal studies, by the establishment of learned seminaries, by the recovery of the works of the ancient writers, and the publication of them by means of the press, by promoting the knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages, and by the munificent encouragement bestowed by him on the professors of every branch of science, of literature, and of art, it would surely be as superfluous to recapitulate his claims, as it would be unjust to deny his pretensions to an eminent degree of positive merit. How far he was rivalled in his exertions in these commendable pursuits, by the other princes of his time, is a question which has not hitherto been particularly

How far Leo was rivalled in this respect by the other princes of his time.

(a) *Andres, Dell' origine, &c. d' Ogni Letteratura, vol. i. p. 380.*

cularly discussed. If, however, for this purpose, we take a general view of the states of Italy, or even of Europe, and compare the efforts made by their sovereigns with those of Leo X. we shall find little cause to accede to the opinion so decisively advanced. In Naples, with the expulsion of the family of Aragon, and the introduction of the Spanish government, the literary constellation which had shone so bright at the close of the preceding century, suddenly disappeared, and left that unfortunate and distracted country in almost total darkness. The vicissitudes to which the city and territories of Milan had been exposed, and the frequent change of its sovereigns, had effectually prevented that place from being considered as a safe asylum for either the muses or the arts; and even the character of the princes of the house of Sforza in the time of Leo X. as displayed during the short period in which they held the sovereignty, exhibited few proofs of that predilection for literature, by which some of their ancestors had been distinguished. Although the city of Venice was further removed from the calamities of the time, yet the continental territories of that state had suffered all the horrors of warfare; and even the capital derives more celebrity

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celebrity, in the estimation of the present day, from its having been fixed upon by Aldo for the establishment of his press, than from the literary character of its inhabitants. The family of Gonzaga, the sovereigns of Mantua, have justly been distinguished as eminent patrons of learning; but the inferiority of their resources, which were exhausted by military expeditions, and the narrow limits of the theatre of their exertion, prevent their being placed in any degree of competition with Leo X. On the death of Guidubaldo duke of Urbino, in the year 1508, and the accession of his successor Francesco Maria della Rovere, that court changed its character; and after the expulsion of the duke by Leo X. in the year 1516, the duchy of Urbino may be considered as composing, like the Tuscan state, a part of the dominions of Leo X. Of all the principalities of Italy, Ferrara is the only one that had any pretensions to contend with the pontifical see in the protection and encouragement afforded to men of talents, learning, and wit, and the possession of Ariosto alone is an advantage not to be counterbalanced by any individual of the Roman court; yet the patronage conferred on this great man by the family of Este, was so scanty, as to have sup-

plied him with frequent subjects of remonstrance and complaint. As a patron of learning, Alfonso was greatly inferior to many of his predecessors, and he was indebted for his glory rather to his military exploits, than to his successful cultivation of the arts of peace. During his avocations or his absence, the encouragement of literature devolved, with the care of his states, on his duchess Lucrezia, to whom is to be attributed no small share of the proficiency made in liberal studies during the times in which she lived. Nor is there any person of the age who is better entitled to share with Leo X. in the honours due to the restorers of learning, than the accomplished, but calumniated daughter of Alexander VI.

Still less pretensions than the Italian potentates have the other sovereigns of Europe, to participate in or to diminish the glory of Leo X. The cold and crafty policy of Ferdinand of Spain, and the vanity, imbecility, and bigotry, of the emperor elect Maximilian were ill adapted to the promotion, or the toleration, of liberal studies; and their youthful successor Charles V. and his rival Francis I. were too much engaged in hostilities against each other, to allow them at this time to af-

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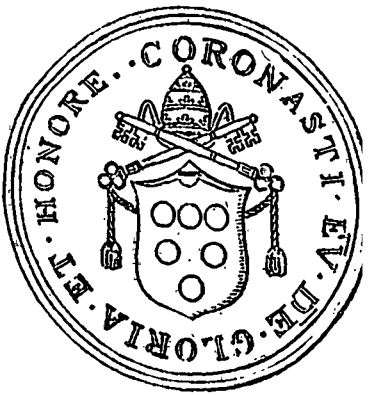
ford that encouragement to letters and to arts, which they manifested at a subsequent period. The most munificent, as well as the most learned monarch of his time, was Henry VIII. under whose auspices England vigorously commenced her career of improvement; but the unaccountable versatility, and unrelenting cruelty of his disposition, counteracted in a great degree the effects of his liberality; and it was not until the more tranquil days of his daughter Elizabeth, that these kingdoms rose to that equality with the other states of Europe in the cultivation of science and of literature, which they have ever since maintained.

Conclusion.

That an astonishing proficiency in the improvement of the human intellect was made during the pontificate of Leo X. is universally allowed. That such proficiency is principally to be attributed to the exertions of that pontiff, will now perhaps be thought equally indisputable. Of the predominating influence of a powerful, an accomplished, or a fortunate individual on the character and manners of the age, the history of mankind furnishes innumerable instances; and happy is it for the world, when the pursuits of such individuals, instead

instead of being devoted, through blind ambition, to the subjugation or destruction of the human race, are directed towards those beneficent and generous ends, which, amidst all his avocations, LEO THE TENTH appears to have kept continually in view. CHAP. XXIV.



ERRATA.

VOL. I.

In the Contents of Chap. I. for 1493, read 1492.
P. 21, line 13, for *Zemmio* read *Zenino*,
P. 45, line 3, for *intrcvals* read *intrevals*.
P. 96, line for *wirtings* read *writings*.
P. 275, last line, for *instrumenes* read *instruments*.
P. 347, line 4, for *Gies* read *de Gies*.
P. 459, line 15, for *wisc* read *wiser*.

VOL. II.

P. 7, line 24, for *Enricho* read *Enrico*.
P. 10, line 20, for *Hettora* read *Hettore*.
P. 34, line 7, for *Paolo* read *Palo*.
P. 52, line 16, for *Alfonzo* read *Alfonso*.
P. 82, line 5, dele *of*.
P. 96, line 9, for *uparallcled* read *unparalleled*.
P. 119, line 9, for *Frencesca* read *Francesca*.
P. 134, line 2, for *where* read *were*.
P. 139, line 20, after *command* insert *of*.
P. 157, line 9, for *and consistory* read *and the consistory*.
P. 182, in Margin, in a few copies, for *pangerous*, read *dangerous*.
P. 394, note *(a)* last line, for *autum* read *cautum*.
P. 413, line 9, for *this* read *his*.
P. 424, lines 6 and 7, for *in-ced* read *induced*.
P. 425, line 3, for *has* read *had*.
P. 426, line 17, for *meditaion* read *mediation*.
P. 432, line, 6, for *were* read *where*.

VOL. III.

P. 181, line 7, for *attachments* read *attachment*.
P. 237, line 12, for *reason* read *reasons*.
P. 261, note *(a)* line 2, for *M.CCCC.LXXXVIII.* read *M.CCCC.LXXXVIIII.*
P. 279, line 2, for *uncquivocal* read *equivocal*.
P. 363, in the Contents of Chap. XVII. for *Girolama* read *Girolamo*.
P. 394, note *(a)* line 3, for *prcamiis* read *praemiis*.
P. 420, line 7, for Cocci read Cocchi.
P. 487, note *(a)* line 1, for *aurœ* read *aureæ*.

VOL. IV.

P. 232, note *(a)* line 10, for ὑγδόῳ read ὀγδόῳ.
P. 244, in Margin, for *Faullo* read *Paullo*.
P. 262, note *(b)* line 7, for ve read *vel*.
P. 363, note *(a)* line 5, dele *extract*.

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on 03 December, 2015